

THE  
South Atlantic Quarterly

WILLIAM K. BOYD,  
WILLIAM H. WANNAMAKER, } EDITORS

Volume XIX

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DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA  
1920

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Volume XIX

Number 1

*The*  
**South Atlantic  
Quarterly**

EDITED BY  
WILLIAM K. BOYD *and* WILLIAM H. WANNAMAKER

JANUARY, 1920

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This journal was founded in January, 1902, in order to afford better opportunity in the South for discussion of literary, historical, economic, and social questions. It knows no sectional jealousy and aims to offer a publishing medium in which respectful consideration will be accorded to all who have some worthy contribution to make in its chosen field. The QUARTERLY was originally established by the "9019," a society of young men of Trinity College, but it later passed into the control of the South Atlantic Publishing Company, Incorporated. It is under the joint editorship of Dr. W. K. Boyd and Dr. W. H. Wannamaker.

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# The Sewanee Review

QUARTERLY

EDITED BY JOHN M. McBRIDE, JR.

**F**OUNDED in 1892, *The Sewanee Review* has steadily and consistently maintained its policy, announced in the first issue, of being a serious literary and critical journal. Avoiding all temptation to court wider popularity through mere timeliness in its articles, it has ever sought to serve as a repository of the literary essay and the critical review.

For the past ten years the magazine has drawn its contributions from a wide extent of country, representing thirty-eight states of the Union as well as England and Japan. New York leads with a total of thirty-three contributions out of a total of two hundred and sixty-four; but nearly forty-five per cent have come from the South, so that the magazine has contributed its share towards helping to encourage and develop independence of thought, to mould public opinion, to raise the standards of taste and literary expression, and to reflect the best tendencies in the culture and the life of the Southern people. Though not unnaturally a large majority of the contributors have come from the colleges, *The Review* has not been merely an academic organ, but has covered a broad field of literature, art, history, economics, theology, and current questions, and has always tried to approach these subjects in a dignified manner, free from prejudice and undue partisanship.

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*The Sewanee Review* is conducted by members of the Faculties of the University of the South, Sewanee, Tennessee, but has no official connection with the University.

Volume XIX JANUARY, 1920 Number 1

# The South Atlantic Quarterly

## The South's Labor Problem

MONROE N. WORK  
Tuskegee Institute

The most important phase of the South's labor problem is how to secure an adequate and efficient labor supply. The present supply is inadequate to do the work now ready to be done, to say nothing of the work necessary for future development. The acuteness of this problem is indicated by the facts that come from many sources. Because of the lack of labor on farms many hundred acres of land lay idle the past year, and it is stated that many more hundred acres will lie idle this year. Another indication of the acuteness of the labor supply is the efforts which were made just after the Chicago race riots to get Negroes to return to the South, especially to Mississippi and Louisiana.

Whence may the South expect a present and a future labor supply? These sources are two—the natural increase of the population and immigration. The indications are that little is to be expected from immigration. After all the years of tremendous immigration to America, the South in 1910 had only 726,171 persons of foreign birth. The proportion of the immigration stream which came to the South was less than five per cent of the total number of immigrants.

According to the best authorities there is little hope in the near future for the South to expect to increase its labor supply by foreign immigration. The United States Labor Department has already estimated that 1,300,000 foreigners in this country will return to Europe and that in the next five years the number returning may rise as high as 3,000,000 to 5,000,000. If this is true, and the indications are that it is, then not only will the South fail to increase its labor supply by foreign immigration, but, on the other hand, because of the departure of

such a large number of foreigners from this country, the demand for labor in the North will cause the South to lose a great deal more of the labor supply which it now has.

It is often urged that the migration of Negroes to the North can be offset by inducing migration of whites from the North. While it is true that a considerable number of whites from the North has come South, a careful examination of the facts connected with this appears to indicate that this immigration is mainly not of laborers, but of those who are independent workers, farmers, etc., employers of labor. In connection with the migration movement it has been to a considerable extent overlooked that the South is not only losing a large proportion of her Negro population, but that the migration of whites from the South to the North and the West is much greater than the migration from these two sections to the South.

The census of 1910 shows that 1,448,624, or 7.5 per cent of the whites born in the South had migrated to the North and West. There were living at this same time, in what the census designates as the South, 1,441,785 whites who had been born in the North. This would seem to indicate that the numbers of whites migrating North and South were about equal; that is, only 46,000 more whites had moved into the North from the South than had moved into the South from the North. A further analysis, however, shows that the movement of whites from the South to the North and the West is very much greater than the movement from the North and the West to the South. Of those moving into the South from the North and the West, 519,364, or 36 per cent, had moved into the State of Oklahoma. When the twelve more strictly southern states, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Kentucky, Tennessee, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas, are taken, it is found that 677,342 whites born in the North and the West were living in these states and 1,104,470 whites from these states were living in the North and the West; that is, there were 426,128 more whites from these states living in the North than there were from the North living in them.

As a result of the present labor shortage, there has been



drawn from the South, along with the Negro migrants, many white migrants. It is very probable that so long as the present demands for labor in the North continue, there will be migrants of both races from the South, for the economic law of supply and demand influences laborers about the same, be they white or black. Since it appears that in the immediate future the South can expect little from immigration to help meet her labor supply, she needs must turn to her natural supply, her more than twenty million of whites and her more than nine million of Negroes, and devise ways through this population of meeting the labor shortage.

The necessity for further development of the resources of the South calls for more increase in the supply of labor. There is immediate necessity for further development of the South's forest resources, her mineral resources, her water power and, chief of all, her agricultural resources. These resources can be developed only through a greater use of machinery. A greater use of machinery, however, calls for not a decreased, but an increased labor supply.

The land area of the South is 562,128,640 acres. Of this area 354,452,860 acres in 1910 were in farms, that is, there were over two hundred million acres, or 37 per cent of the South's total land area, that had not been made into farms. Some of this area is untillable, but millions of acres of the area not yet in farms can, through the drainage of swamps and through other means, be reclaimed for farm purposes. In addition to the fact that a large part of the South is not yet in farms is the further fact that only a small part of the land in farms is being actually cultivated. According to the census report of 1910, 150,690,852 acres, or only 42 per cent of the area in farms, were improved. The probability is that since 1910, because of war conditions, there has been very little increase in the amount of improved land. This means that of the total land area of the South, only about 27 per cent has been improved. The following table illustrates the situation:

Total area .....	562,128,640	Percent
Not in farms .....	207,675,780	36.9
In farms .....	354,452,860	63.1
Improved .....	150,690,852	26.8
Unimproved .....	203,762,008	36.4

The South's labor supply can be increased by health improvement, by education, and by checking the flow of labor to the North. Bad health conditions among both whites and Negroes are causing the South enormous financial losses. The Rockefeller Foundation, in its work for the eradication of hookworm and malaria, is showing that it is cheaper to prevent disease than it is to have it. Malaria, which greatly reduces the working capacity of the population, is being brought under control by the Rockefeller Foundation in a number of places for less money than was ordinarily spent in these sections for doctors' bills by malaria patients. Because of the conditions under which Negroes live and the consequent high rate of sickness and death, the greatest financial loss which the South sustains is from disease. Estimates indicate that there are in the South about one-half million seriously sick persons all of the time; that is, they are so ill that some one has to take care of them. If this sickness were distributed among the entire Negro population of the South, it would mean that, on an average, every man, woman, and child would be sick eighteen days in the year.

For a long time it was not realized that any part of the enormous financial loss caused by bad health conditions among Negroes fell upon the white people or upon the state. When, however, there began to be talk of conserving the natural resources of the country, it was pointed out that the most important part of these resources are the people, white and black. They are more important, more valuable than the soil, the forests, the minerals, or the waterways. It is probable that the South is losing each year, because of bad health conditions among its Negro population, more than three hundred million dollars. It is also probable that by improving health conditions among its Negro population, one-half of this great loss could be saved.

Let us examine more closely the matter of health improvement and efficiency. If the South is to take her place economically as the banner section of the nation, the efficiency of her Negro population will have to be greatly increased. On account of bad health conditions and the lack of training, the Negro population is about one-half as efficient as it is capable

of being. On the other hand, because of premature deaths, the number of years that the average Negro works is about one-half of what it should be. The average life of Negroes is now about thirty-five years. If the average length of life for them were increased to fifty years (and this can be done by sanitary improvement) the length of time the average Negro could work would be increased to thirty years, that is, the increase would be fifteen years.

Let us grasp the significance of this as a means of meeting the South's labor needs. The South, through migration, has lost thousands of her Negro population. By improving the health conditions of those who remain, the loss in migration can, to a considerable degree, be offset. There are in the South about five million Negroes who are engaged in gainful occupations; that is, that many are helping to do the South's work and develop its resources. If, by education and health improvement, the efficiency of these Negro men and women can be doubled, it will be equal to adding five million additional workers to the population of the South. Likewise, if the period of productive work of the average Negro can be doubled, it will be equal to adding another five million to the population of the South. It will, of course, take a long period of time to accomplish this. It is a goal, however, that can be reached, and every year should see a nearer approach toward its realization.

It has already been indicated that in the immediate future there will be a greater use of machinery in all lines of industry. This means that the general level of intelligence of working people, white and black, must be raised. Let us take as an example the matter of the Negro and agriculture. In addition to the millions of acres in the South yet to be brought under cultivation, there is the further fact that that which has been brought under cultivation is being poorly tilled. The average yield per acre for the South is, for cotton, about one-half bale; for corn, about seventeen bushels; and for sweet potatoes, about eighty-eight bushels.

In order to farm successfully the land that is being cultivated and to help bring the vast area of unimproved land under cultivation, it will pay the South to increase the intelli-

gence of her Negro farmers. If this is done, they will become more efficient; they will be able to use better methods of farming; they will be able to raise on the land which is being cultivated two bales of cotton where one is now being grown, fifty bushels of corn where seventeen are now being grown, and one hundred fifty bushels of sweet potatoes where eighty-eight are now being raised. By increasing the intelligence of the Negro farmers, they will be able to use improved farming machinery to a much greater extent. As a result they will be able to cultivate two acres where they are now only cultivating one. Thus, through increased efficiency, the yield per acre and the acreage cultivated can be doubled.

Another way for the South to increase her labor supply is to check the flow of labor to the North. This can be done by increasing the laborer's advantages and opportunities in the South and at the same time convincing the laborers that this is being done.

One of these advantages must be that the rate of wages paid in the South must approximately equal the rate paid in the North. As long as a laborer in the South, say on a plantation, receives only \$1.00 or \$1.50 a day and learns from a friend or relative in the North that he can get \$3.00 or \$5.00 a day, the tendency will be for him to go where the largest pay can be obtained.

The South, when compared with the North as to educational opportunities for the laborer's children, is at a disadvantage. Compare the amount of money spent per capita for education in the states where the largest number of migrants have gone with the amount which is expended per capita in the South. The largest number of the migrants have gone to New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, and Illinois. The average annual expenditure per child for education in these states is as follows: New Jersey, \$34.00; New York, \$29.00; Pennsylvania, \$25.00; Ohio, \$29.00; Michigan, \$25.00; and Illinois, \$26.00. In contrast, the average expenditures for education per white child for each of the twelve southern states being considered are: Virginia, \$14.00; North Carolina, \$10.00; South Carolina, \$12.00; Georgia, \$13.00; Florida, \$19.00; Alabama, \$11.00; Mississippi, \$8.00; Ken-

tucky, \$11.00; Tennessee, \$11.00; Louisiana, \$16.00; Arkansas, \$9.00; and Texas, \$9.00. Although the expenditure per white child is much less in these southern states than in the northern states to which the migrants have gone, there is a still greater difference as to expenditure per child for Negroes, which is, for Virginia, \$4.13; North Carolina, \$3.70; South Carolina, \$1.23; Georgia, \$2.59; Florida, \$2.44; Alabama, \$2.00; Mississippi, \$1.53; Kentucky, \$9.70; Tennessee, \$5.76; Louisiana, \$1.81; Arkansas, \$4.14; and Texas, \$6.90. The result of the large expenditures for education by the northern states is superior educational facilities. Another result is a higher average of intelligence than is found in the South. Excluding those of foreign birth, let us compare the illiteracy of the native population, white and Negroes, in these states, North and South. The per cent of illiterates among native whites and native Negroes in the northern states under consideration is: New Jersey, whites, 0.8, Negroes, 5.0; New York, whites, 0.9, Negroes, 9.9; Pennsylvania, whites, 1.3, Negroes, 9.1; Ohio, whites, 1.5, Negroes, 11.1; Michigan, whites, 1.1, Negroes, 5.7; and Illinois, whites, 1.3, Negroes, 10.5. The percentage of illiteracy in the twelve Southern states being considered is as follows: Virginia, whites, 8.0, Negroes, 30.0; North Carolina, whites, 12.3, Negroes, 31.9; South Carolina, whites, 10.3, Negroes, 38.7; Georgia, whites, 7.8, Negroes, 36.5; Florida, whites, 5.0, Negroes, 25.5; Alabama, whites, 9.9, Negroes, 40.1; Mississippi, whites, 5.2, Negroes, 35.6; Kentucky, whites, 10.0, Negroes, 27.6; Tennessee, whites, 9.7, Negroes, 27.3; Louisiana, whites, 13.4, Negroes, 48.4; Arkansas, whites, 7.0, Negroes, 26.4; and Texas, whites, 4.3, Negroes, 24.6.

One of the most important reasons why Negro labor continues to flow North is that in addition to the matter of better wages and better educational facilities, he receives better treatment than in the South. Treatment is, perhaps, the greatest factor that has to do with the migration of Negroes to the North. It is generally said by those who are North that, if they could get just treatment in the South, they would be willing to remain here at a great deal less wage than they receive in the North. The dissatisfaction and complaint of

Negro laborers is of the treatment received from many landlords in their settlements with their tenants, of the treatment which is accorded Negroes on trains, of suffrage restrictions, of the treatment meted Negroes in courts, of the persecution which they suffer at the hands of many officers of the law, and of the failure of the law to protect them against mob violence. It may be pointed out that there are race riots in the North in which many Negroes are maltreated and killed. These riots are sporadic, and in spite of them the migrants maintain that on the whole the treatment accorded Negroes in the North is better than that accorded them in the South. It is for this reason that the race riots have not checked the flow of Negro labor to the North, and have not caused any appreciable number of Negroes to return to the South. It is for the South, then, to check the flow of Negro laborers to the North by seeing that they get just treatment and a square deal in every respect.

## Two Famous Poems of the World War

H. E. HARMON

### I. DR. JOHN McCRAE—*In Flanders Fields*

Perhaps no terror was ever so terrible as that which raged around Ypres and northern France during the early part and middle of 1915. After being turned back at the Marne the year before, where nothing else save human bravery, expressed in the words, "They shall not pass," saved the day, the Germans in April, 1915, were in the full cry of victory. They felt sure that Paris was in their grasp, the channel ports would follow, and then the great governmental fabric of the world would collapse in ruins with the Hun master of all.

Only those who went through the horror of that campaign, with its wretched carnage of suffering, its water-soaked trenches, its blood-stained fields, its desperation and despair, can ever realize one-half of what it all meant. Heroes stalked blinded through the vast melee, to die and sleep in unmarked graves; life ebbed out of thousands of lives, fighting to the last tissue of strength left,—while above it all, the spring of 1915 came back again, the soft sun shone once more through the smoke-wrapped air and flowers blossomed above the scarred faces of those who slept.

It was out of all this terror of suffering,—which God grant history may never know again,—that one great poem was born, perhaps the greatest poem of the World War, and certainly the most widely read and quoted:

"In Flanders fields the poppies blow  
Between the crosses, row on row,  
That mark our place; and in the sky  
The larks, still bravely singing, fly  
Scarce heard amid the guns below.

We are the Dead. Short days ago  
We lived, felt dawn, saw sunset glow,  
Loved and were loved, and now we lie  
In Flanders fields.

Take up our quarrel with the foe:  
 To you from failing hands we throw  
 The torch; be yours to hold it high.  
 If ye break faith with us who die  
 We shall not sleep, though poppies grow  
 In Flanders fields."

The poem was written by Dr. John McCrae, who was living in Montreal when the war broke out, but who was drawn into the hottest of its activities when his country called for help. His dressing station was right at the front in the terrible fighting in Flanders, so that he saw the worst of the awful suffering through which the Allied armies passed in those sinister months of 1915. He witnessed the steady, onward march of the enemy, the almost hopeless heroism of his comrades to stay the German pressure; he saw the warm earth hide its shame in the scarlet glory of the poppy; and out of this harrowing experience this great poem was born. It is the outgrowth of personal observation, of intense feeling, and hence its every line rings true to the subject matter, because it came from a soul stirred to its very depths.

Dr. McCrae had served for a while in the Boer war and afterwards had written some verse, but nothing to indicate that he could ever be the author of *In Flanders Fields*. In one of his African poems, *Isandl-Wana*, the first verse runs thus:

"Scarlet coats and crash o' the band,  
 The grey of a pauper's gown,  
 A soldier's grave in Zululand  
 And a woman in Brecon Town."

and ending thus:

Golden grey on miles of sand  
 The dawn comes creeping down  
 It's day in far off Zululand  
 And night in Brecon Town."

In the poem *The Night Cometh* appear these dainty lines:

"The night cometh, the wind falls low  
 The trees swing slowly to and fro:  
 Around the church the headstones grey  
 Cluster like children strayed away,  
 But found again, and folded so."



In a later poem, *The Harvests of the Sea*, Dr. McCrae shows the poetic touch, from which these verses are taken:

"The earth grows white with harvest; all day long  
The sickles gleam, until the darkness weaves  
Her web of silence o'er the thankful song  
Of reaper bringing home the golden sheaves.

The wave tops whiten on the sea fields drear,  
And men go forth at haggard dawn to reap;  
But ever 'mid the gleaners' song we hear  
The half-hushed sobbing of the hearts that weep."

And yet in the slender volume, which has now been published and which shows the bulk of his poetic contribution to the world's literature, but one poem will live and that will live with the best.

*In Flanders Fields* was first published in London *Punch*, December 8, 1915, and bore no signature. Evidently the author did not realize the literary value of his work, but it was not long in finding its way to the great throbbing world without, all afire with feeling for what was going on in northern France. It was the most widely copied poem of the war. It was read from thousands of platforms in England and France to stir the fire of enthusiasm for recruits. And when America was finally drawn into the great struggle, it became national in its appeal for help, and thousands went to the front to hold high the torch thrown back by dying heroes. Perhaps nothing in all literature ever did so much to fire the soul of the western world to the cause of liberty. Its every line was a bugle note and men went forward filled with a new enthusiasm for the cause which America had espoused.

"This poem," General Morrison writes, "was literally born of fire and blood during the hottest phase of the second battle of Ypres. My headquarters were in a trench on the top of the bank of the Ypres Canal, and John had his dressing station in a hole dug in the foot of the bank. During periods in the battle men who were shot actually rolled down the bank into his dressing station. Along from us a few hundred yards were the headquarters of a regiment, and many times during the sixteen days of battle, he and I watched them burying their dead whenever there was a lull. Thus the crosses,

row on row, grew into a good-sized cemetery. Just as he describes, we often heard in the mornings the larks singing high in the air, between the crash of shell and the reports of the guns in the battery just beside us."

Dr. John McCrae did not live to see the victory for which he gave his life. He died at the General Hospital in Boulogne, from an illness contracted through service to the cause he loved so well and which he immortalized in such matchless lines. But he did live long enough to know that his poem had found its place in the hearts of his comrades at the front. It was a soldier's poem and copies of it passed from trench to trench, during the darkest hours of the great struggle. How much inspiration it gave the army will never be known. It is a fact, however, that some kind of copy of it was found in the pocket of almost every hero who fell in that fateful season around Ypres. Many of these copies were smeared and stained—many with blood—almost beyond legibility. So after all the author knew something of the worth of his inspiring song.

There were many replies to the poem and many of these beautiful. Perhaps the one in which we have most interest was that of Mr. Lillard in the New York *Evening Post*, the opening of which—

"Rest ye in peace, ye Flanders dead.  
The fight that ye so bravely led  
We've taken up—"

had much to do in arousing our interest in the great World War, and which resulted in victory for that righteous cause of which *In Flanders Fields* is such an appealing exponent.

Few indeed may seem the burning lines of such a poem, yet thousands were stirred by its fervor, by its force, its appeal—and it sent all the power of a new, strong nation against a common enemy, and made the armistice of last November a possibility.

## II. ALAN SEEGER—*I Have a Rendezvous with Death*

"Only forever, in the old unrest  
Of winds and waters and the varying year,  
A litany from islands of the blest  
Answers, 'Not here . . . not here!'  
And over the wide world that wandering cry  
Shall lead my searching heart unsoothed until I die."

These lines from Alan Seeger's short poem, *Endaemon*, clearly picture his own career, which was so filled with romance, longing and adventure that its very restlessness is pathetic. The "old unrest," with its litany from "the islands of the blest" and the answer to the "wandering cry"—"Not here . . . not here!" an unrest which more or less fills every soul in which the flame of emotion burns, was his to the fullest degree. Not even the silken ease of a home of wealth could hold his restless spirit to one place, and in the end this very restlessness proved his undoing—but not until the result of his adventure had left its ripened fruit in a book of verse, containing his immortal lines: *I Have a Rendezvous with Death*.

Alan Seeger, conscript of Destiny, was born in New York, June 22, 1888, and was killed on July 5th, 1916, fighting for France. The first ten years of his boyhood were spent on Staten Island, "at the gateway of the West." Visible from his home was the channel, through which the great ships passed in and out, and here developed his first ideals of adventure. These great vessels from every port in the world became his "ships of dreams," of wild adventure, all of which he lived in the after years. With them he went to every land, mingled with their strange people, learned the uncharted roadway of the seas and by them was infused with that restless spirit, which remained uncalmed until the hand of death halted his activities at Belloy-en-Santerre by a German bullet.

When Alan was twelve years old, his parents took up their residence in Mexico and the young dreamer went from one ideal to another. As the going and coming ships off Staten Island had fanned the flame of adventure in his soul, so the removal to tropical Mexico awakened the spirit of Romance, which he so cleverly pictures in one of his early poems, the *Ode to Antares*:

"Star of the South that now through orient mist  
At nightfall off Tampico or Belize  
Greetest the sailor, rising from those seas  
Where first in me, a fond romanticist,  
The tropic sunset's bloom on cloudy piles  
Cast out industrious cares with dreams of fabulous isles."

Across the tropic seas he had sailed, in the path of the pirates and buccaneers,—those wild freemen of adventure. Across these tropic seas he had seen every color of luxuriance, the tall palm trees, frescoed against a sky of blue, stranger sailing craft from out the yellow pages of history and weird, mysterious nights, with such a sky of luminous stars, unfamiliar in his northern home. It was here he learned to say

"From a boy  
I gloated on existence. Earth to me  
Seemed all sufficient and my sojourn there  
One trembling opportunity for joy."

In these early years Fate seemed good to this "Conscript of Destiny," for what poet ever had his youth blessed with such opportunities for cultivating the spirit of both adventure and romance? These receptive years were full of joy and the soul of the poet trembled with the very emotions of mere existence.

Following two years in Mexico Alan Seeger was in school and college until 1910, after that spending two years in New York as a student and in literary work.

In 1912 came the fatal call, or perhaps the call which placed him among the Immortals. He had already accomplished much in a literary way, but he longed to see life at its full and no place in all the world so appealed to him as did Paris.

"Ah! Paris with the smoothness of her paths  
That lead the heart unto the heart's delight."

For two years he lived there, studying every phase of that mysterious city, feeling the while that

"One crowded hour of glorious life  
Is worth an age without a name."

It was the privilege of rare living which appealed to him. He had youth, wealth, talent, ambition—all—what more could one ask for? and during these years of exultant existence he produced some of his finest poems, all of which show the keen poetic spirit, the rare touch of refinement, and above all, the artistic finish of one who never tired of doing his work well.

In 1914, by a bolt out of a clear sky, idle gossiping Paris

of gay boulevards was changed to a city of serious, determined people, and the change came in a single day. The first gun at Liege changed a laughing world to one of sorrow. Many foreigners were living in Paris at the time, and Alan Seeger was among the first to quit his pleasure loving city of adoption and join the Foreign Legion of the French army and hasten to the front. All of his dreams of adventure and romance seemed answered in one hour when the France he loved called for help. There was never a question as to his duty,—never a whisper from his life of ease which could hold him back from the hardships and dangers of a soldier's life. If true patriotism for an adopted country ever rose up in the soul of a single individual it arose in the soul of Alan Seeger when the call for help came.

From that fateful day in 1914, when he reported for duty in the Foreign Legion, up to July 5th, 1916, when his young life ebbed out with his rich young blood at the battle of Belloy-en-Santerre, Alan Seeger lived in the trenches, doing the full duty of a soldier and at the last realizing

"That rare privilege of dying well."

During the years of hardship at the front, when every soul was tried to its uttermost, he never lost the enthusiasm which had marked his pre-war days; and while little leisure was left for writing, he nevertheless found time to compose most of his finest poems. The one on which his literary reputation will rest secure and which has been one of the most quoted of all war poems is:

I have a rendezvous with Death  
At some disputed barricade,  
When Spring comes back with rustling shade  
And apple blossoms fill the air—  
I have a rendezvous with Death  
When Spring brings back blue days and fair.

It may be he shall take my hand  
And lead me into his dark land  
And close my eyes and quench my breath—  
It may be I shall pass him still.  
I have a rendezvous with Death  
On some scarred slope or battered hill,  
When Spring comes round again this year  
And the first meadow-flowers appear.

God knows 't were better to be deep  
Pillowed in silk and scented down,  
Where Love throbs out in blissful sleep  
Pulse nigh to pulse, and breath to breath,  
Where hushed awakenings are dear. . .  
But I've a rendezvous with Death  
At midnight in some flaming town,  
When Spring trips north again this year,  
And I to my pledged word am true,  
I shall not fail that rendezvous.

There is something strangely prophetic in this poem, which leads to the belief that its author had a premonition as to the certainty and the time of his death. It foretells his death "When spring comes back with rustling shade," and "When Spring trips north again this year." Dying as he did in the early July, and as Spring comes late in northern France, the prophecy was not far out of date.

The place, also, has its wonderful prophecy. Three places in the terrific struggle are mentioned: "At some disputed barricade," the terror of which he knew so well; "On some scarred slope, or battered hill," up which he had often fought, when these lines were penned; and "At midnight in some flaming town." The writer had gone through all these terrors. They had scarred his soul! Once the dreamer of wonderful dreams of beauty, he had come face to face with a strife and hate and flaming sword which swept away all dreams of idealism. He had learned a lesson in the Ages of History which he never thought was possible in a world so beautiful as this.

In some respect the poem is a wail of despair, with never a word of complaint in all of its beautiful lines.

"God knows 't were better to be deep  
Pillowed in silk and scented down."

Yet the brave soul would not bewail his fate, but rather dispute the "barricade," "the battered hill," the "blazing town"—because,

"And I to my pledged word am true  
And shall not fail that rendezvous."

Few things in English literature are more beautiful. To understand, to appreciate, and to love the poem, the reader must know the meager outlines of the poet's life, as given above. His was a willing sacrifice! France owes him a monument, and our own country, since we were finally drawn into the war, cannot honor, too highly, the patriotic spirit of Alan Seeger.

## Poets of The American Ambulance

WALTER GRAHAM  
Western Reserve University

Honored by many writers, the widely read work of the soldier poets in the Great War is sufficiently well known today; but little has been written or known of the work done by youthful poets engaged in no less gallant service to humanity among the ambulance units—many of them, long before the United States of America took a worthy place among the fighting nations. Yet these versifiers of the *Service Automobile Americain* found an outlet for their suppressed emotions, when, like the soldiers, in the intervals between periods of prodigious activity, they could relax and put their thoughts and moods into expression. Much of their verse has been lost, of course; but a good deal of it was published in the *Field Service Bulletin*, a little periodical issued weekly in Paris. And to this publication we turn today for a survey and summary of the work of these youthful singers.

After the modest beginnings of the American Ambulance (hospital) in Paris, early in the winter of 1914, more and more automobiles were given by Americans, and these cars and their drivers—usually American volunteers—became the nucleus of the Paris branch of the American Ambulance Service. In April, 1915, Piatt Andrew and others organized the Field Service, with headquarters at an historic chateau at Passy. Later, an independent section of twenty cars was attached for duty to a French division at the front, and was known as Section 1 of the American Field Service. Volunteers were put into the field from time to time, and by March, 1917, there were ten sections at the front—a number raised to thirty during the following summer. The Paris Service and the Field Service were operated separately. Both were maintained by contributed money, cars, and equipment, and were composed of volunteer drivers who paid their own passage from America and supplied their own personal equipment. At the front they were given French rations and paid five cents a day, the same as the French soldier. Later, in 1917, a *camion*, or munition truck division, was added to the Ambulance Service.



A large percentage of the ambulance drivers were American college boys—adventurous, buoyant lads, who—without further incentive than the promptings of their own hearts—sought eagerly the opportunity for humane service on the battlefields of France. College records show their character. They were the cream of our manhood. When the United States entered the war, most of them transferred to the ranks of the active combatants. But the notable fact is that they did not wait for a declaration of war before taking part in the great conflict. Like knights-errant of old, they went, on their own responsibility and at their own expense. For this fact, rather than because of the intrinsic value of their verse, the meager records they left are of vital interest.

One who reads the *Field Service Bulletin* today, therefore, must look for expressions of the spirit of young men, rather than for enduring literature. Housed in wrecked buildings, fraternizing often with the cows, horses, and rabbits in their sleeping quarters, suffering the discomforts of the regular soldier's life, and under fire many hours a day, hundreds of them found diversion in writing letters, journals, sketches—poetry. Boys who had scorned the grind of "English I" in college sought to declare themselves in rime and rhythm. Many who had never written a serious line before struggled, in the thunder-broken leisure of the night, behind the lines, to put into words the singing deep emotions that stirred them. The results were not often remarkable as evidences of poetic inspiration. They were rough, unpolished, technically unsure, both in conception and execution. But frequently they were gripping, sincere records of personal experience, instinct with the rhythm of pent-up feeling. The poignant nostalgia of youth three thousand miles from home, the stoicism of manhood developed suddenly under stress, recklessness, idealism, indomitable cheer—these are the ingredients which found their way somehow into the verse of the *Field Service Bulletin*. The making of this verse—to use their own picturesque argot—kept them from going "goofy."

One thing that strikes the reader of the *Bulletin* is the large amount—in the earlier numbers, at least—of humorous doggerel. Of its kind it is clever, but not greatly inspired.

Its purpose was only to amuse; and amuse it certainly did. "Hunk o' Tin," an exceedingly witty burlesque on Kipling's "Gunga Din," soon became a classic. It was popular in all the army camps in this country, as well as among the soldiers abroad, and soon, through republication, became familiar to millions of readers. Doubtless, hardly one in a thousand of those who read or heard the parody knew that it was published for the first time in the little literary organ of the American Ambulance, or who the author was. This effort to amuse is apologized for, perhaps, by the anonymous author of "Wartime Humor." In a string of incidents, the author says:

"When Private Brown just now essayed  
(Perhaps the funniest episode)  
To take the pin from a grenade,  
What did the thing do but explode!"

and remarks at length—after thanking whatever gods may be for his sense of fun—

"And yet not one among the lot  
(E'en as he laughs at some poor bloke)  
But fondly hopes that he is not  
To be the point of the next joke."

On the whole, it is probably only the poorest of the verse that may be classified as humorous. Grim feelings underlying the facetious moods came soon to the surface. Thoughts, carefully omitted from the heroic letters to the friends at home, found their way into the simple songs of personal emotion. There was none of the restraint and camouflage—when these young men were writing their journals or inditing verses—that they showed in their cheery letters to the "folks". In general, the effect of their noble service—salvaging from the holocaust of war the human wrecks—on the youths so employed, is well put by David Darrah:

What is this Self that now proclaims, I am?  
That dreams new dreams or none at all, forsooth?  
Somewhere along the scarred Chemin des Dames,  
I lost my youth.

Something has dimmed the old ideals I sought;  
A sterner, sadder Self is left instead:  
Of that which saw such sorrow, death hell-wrought,  
A part is dead.

Youth lies beneath the Deathwind blowing there,  
The ring lost in its laugh, its fervor gone,  
This Self, newborn, sees greater duties, fares  
Upward and on.

Many writers wisely attempted only to record impressions. No Man's Land under the light of a star shell, a bombing plane scuttling away over the horizon, the thunder and smoke of the inevitable guns, these and a thousand other pictures, they have given us in the most expressive language they could command. But more often, the pictures were invested with a deeper significance. Young men were quick to catch the vivid contrasts of war—the beauty and the filth, the squalor and the nobility of it. And in the welter of mud and noise, confusion and blood, of pain and terror, they snatched at the profounder meaning of their bitter experiences. So Paul M. Fulcher says:

Rose-white the dreamy days of spring burst forth,  
But still there sometimes blows  
A dreary, chilling wind from out the North  
That blights the rose;

At night the young delighted crescent moon  
Sings, starlit, through the sky—  
Yet often clouds reach out and still too soon  
Its melody.

But wind and cloud, you cannot touch the spirit  
Of rose-white youth, who fling  
Their blossoming lives away, for they inherit  
Eternal spring.

A poignant note became insistent in the later numbers of the *Field Service Bulletin*. Many wrote in the strain of Ray W. Gauger—

How oft beyond the roaring and the fire,  
I see beyond a beckoning of bliss  
In quiet, tender eyes.  
Beyond the stench of this carnal pyre  
I scent the honey of a blossomed briar.  
I feel the courage of a promised kiss  
Out of my heart arise.

Another did not hesitate to cry out in agony of spirit:

O may I laugh! O may I weep!  
 O may I live again!  
 Here crouched, knee-deep, I fall asleep,  
 Drenched by the midnight rain.  
 O sing me a song of sunny lands,  
 Of waters Heaven-kissed,  
 Of Heavenly lands beyond these bands  
 Of blood and mire and mist!

"Somewhere in France," by Alfred S. Trude, Jr., "His Long Repose," anonymous, Bruce C. Hopper's "American Steel," "Their Mead," by Fulcher, "Messengers of Mercy," by Lansing Warren, "Children of Tomorrow," by William Carey Sanger, Jr., and "Morning," by Robert A. Donaldson—these are a few of the many verses which express the ripened experiences of these poets, their changing mental attitudes, their subtle reactions, all the doubts and fears, longings, regrets, that made up the web of their lives for many months.

Although in some quarters the execrable fallacy has persisted that ambulance service was comparatively without dangers, in comparison with the more aggressive fighting, the losses of the Field Service tell a different story. No page in the history of the war is brighter with the continued glory of heroic self-effacement and sacrifice. The war which robbed the world of more than fifty English and American poets of distinction, spared not the humbler singers of the *Service Automobile Americain*.

None of those Field Service men killed in action were more beloved by their associates than Sherman L. Conklin, one of the most frequent contributors to the *Bulletin*. With a long record of active service behind him, he was killed June 12, 1918, while waiting for his ambulance to be loaded, at a *poste de secours*, near the trenches. One of his associates soon afterward sent the *Bulletin* these lines—

To S. L. C.

In that dim land to which you turned so soon—  
 Too soon!—it may be that you now can see  
 The destiny that shapes our little days

And fills them with the present misery;  
And with your larger vision know at last  
Why youth must give up youth itself and give  
Even its life—that the ideals of youth  
May thus be cherished and forever live.

Like Rupert Brooke and Alan Seeger, S. L. Conklin has become a symbol. The best known among these minor singers who gave their all, he stands now as their bright oriflamme, showing forth their sacrifice and service.

For the poetry of Conklin, or the others of these ambulance versifiers, little can be said without excessive qualification. They were young, inexperienced, technically inexpert. Their emotions constantly rose superior to their powers of expression. But however crude, however inarticulate their efforts, we read in them the struggle of the heart of youth to tell its story to the world—to all time. They are saying—and the *Field Service Bulletin* is almost the only medium through which they expressed themselves—"We American youths, in the Years of Our Lord, 1915-18, gave ourselves as gladly and freely to the cause of suffering humanity as any youth or any men at any time in any land." Their service was not inspired by the presence of a company of comrades; it was to ride the black and broken, shell-swept road at night in a swinging *voiture*. They were neither fêted when they marched away nor celebrated when they returned. Theirs was the unostentatious, the unacclaimed service. But their poetry shows that the men of the Field Service were no less courageous in the performance of duty, no less buoyant under trying conditions, no less self-forgotten when life was given to save life, than any soldiers of the ranks. Their verse should be remembered for what it records, not for its metrical values. If—as has been said—the poetry of the soldiers brings us a spiritual history of the war, surely an important chapter of this history is the verse of the ambulance drivers in the American Field Service.

# Thomas Cooper—A Survey of His Life\*

## PART I—ENGLAND, 1759-1794

H. M. ELLIS  
University of Maine

Thomas Cooper, writer, scientist, and political agitator, who, among other qualifications for eminence, bears probably the greatest share of individual responsibility for the American Civil War, was by birth an Englishman, born in London, October 22, 1759.<sup>1</sup> His father died about 1789, at which time he was owner of a tract of land containing brick-earth, comprising about forty acres, from which he derived in that year an income of nearly £500. This land was at Kentish Town, "then two miles from the turnpike of Tottenham Court Road," but already built over by 1811. This information was given by Cooper himself, but the names of his parents or brothers and sisters, with other details of his early life and family, have not been ascertained. It is probable that his parents were in comfortable circumstances and that they were Dissenters.

He was sent to University College, Oxford, perhaps in 1775 or 1776, and was matriculated into the university from that college in 1779. Apparently he qualified himself for the bachelor's degree but did not take it. He is said to have refused to recite the Apostles' Creed and subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles. Oxford was at that time perhaps more lethargic, both intellectually and spiritually, than at almost any other period in its history. Cooper, in speaking of his bachelor's

\* This is the first of a series of articles comprising a brief sketch of the life of Dr. Cooper, preparatory to a larger work in which his significance as an author, scientist, educator, and political leader in America from 1795 to 1835 shall be more adequately set forth. It makes no pretense, therefore, at completeness, but it is designed to present a more nearly full and authoritative account of him and his activities than has yet appeared. The main purpose in publishing it now is to elicit any helpful criticism, corrections, or additional information which any reader of the *QUARTERLY* may be able to give. The three parts will deal with the three periods of Cooper's life in England, 1759-1794, in Pennsylvania, 1794-1819, and in South Carolina, 1819-1839.

<sup>1</sup> The best account of Cooper's life hitherto published is the late Professor Charles F. Himes's *Life and Times of Judge Thomas Cooper* (Dickinson School of Law, Carlisle, Pa., 1918). This is the product of long and interested study, is particularly full concerning some of the numerous aspects of his life, and corrects many of the errors current in all published accounts of him. It has naturally been of great value to me. Other accounts more fragmentary, such as Laborde's, will be separately noticed. Aside from such printed sources, my sketch is based mainly upon an examination of Cooper's own voluminous works, his correspondence, and contemporary sketches or references to him.

examination, says: "I passed well enough by construing a page in Horace, another in Demosthenes, and another in the easy Greek of Euripides, together with a few answers in Euclid, in logic, and some other trifling branch of education. This will not do there now."<sup>2</sup> In spite of this condition, however, the eager and curious youth was able to amass a really vast amount of varied information, little of which was ever wholly forgotten. In particular he obtained that almost complete acquaintance with Latin and Greek literature—especially the more recondite works dealing with ancient science and out-of-the-way items of fact—which appears again and again in his fugitive papers, and also considerable knowledge of Semitic and other Oriental languages, which Sir William Jones and Dr. Joseph White were then introducing into Oxford.

At the University and perhaps at London even earlier, the boy had begun to cultivate acquaintance with leaders of thought and opinion and men of arts and letters of his time. He has left an account of attending the Latin plays by the boys of Westminster School, in which George Colman the younger acted. He was shocked at their indecencies, but the clergymen sitting around him, he said, did not blush, as he did. In the Nicotian Society at Oxford he was accustomed to see Sir William Jones and Dr. White, the orientalists, John Uri, the Hungarian savant, John Henderson, the eccentric scholar, and others "enveloped in as much smoke from the fumigation of Virginia tobacco as you would find in a London porter-house."<sup>3</sup> About 1781 he made the acquaintance of the eminent scientist and Unitarian divine, Joseph Priestley, by whose influence he, like many other young men, was inspired with interest in scientific, theological, and political investigation and inquiry. Cooper had likewise met Dr. Johnson and between the acts of Philidor and Barretti's operatic version of the *Carmen Seculare* at the Freemasons' Hall in 1779 had heard him deliver an opinion as to the pronunciation of Latin by the Romans. On another occasion he seems to have braved the terrors of the old lexicographer's den—it will be remembered that Johnson liked to converse with young men. This

<sup>2</sup> *Port Folio* magazine, January, 1815, pp. 349-359, "Copy of a Letter to a Friend on University Education."

<sup>3</sup> *Port Folio*, April, 1815, "British Abuse of American Manners," pp. 397-410.

time the subject was politics, and, according to Cooper's relation over forty years later, Johnson denied any belief in the divine right of kings.<sup>4</sup> "I have no such belief," he said. "But I believe that monarchy is the most conducive to the happiness and safety of every nation, and therefore, I am a monarchist. . . . I think every people has the right to establish such government as it thinks most conducive to its interests and happiness."

He was married in St. George's Parish, Hanover Square, August 12, 1779, to Alice Greenwood, daughter of a man prominent in the shipping business.<sup>5</sup> Two of her brothers were wealthy bankers of London, it is said, but the names of none of her people are known to her American descendants. She is supposed to have received a considerable fortune from her father and another from one of her brothers. Four children, Charles, John, Eliza, and Eleanor, and perhaps others, were born of this marriage.

Cooper seems to have wished to follow the medical profession, though his father directed him to study law. He acquired eagerly what knowledge of natural philosophy (science) could be obtained at Oxford and supplemented that with studies of his own. In the summer vacation of 1780 he attended a course of anatomical lectures given by Dr. John Sheldon in Great Queen Street, London; and later in the same summer watched a series of veterinary dissections in a repository for dead horses at St. John's, Clerkenwell. Here he learned, he said, from the disposal of the different parts of the bodies, "how the meanest and most trifling articles might be employed under the direction of scientific skill."<sup>6</sup> Afterwards he attended a clinical course at the Middlesex Hospital, London. He carried on chemical experiments at leisure moments during his whole life. From these different sources he secured a medical knowledge which qualified him to practice among his neighbors and friends, as he was accustomed to do wherever he lived, though never accepting any

<sup>4</sup> Duyckinck, *Cyclopedia of American Literature*, Volume II, "Judge Cooper's Table Talk."

<sup>5</sup> *The Register Book of Marriages, Belonging to the Parish of St. George, Hanover Square, in the County of Middlesex*, Edited by J. H. Chapman, London, 1886, Vol. I, page 303.

<sup>6</sup> *Emporium of Arts and Sciences*, New Series, Vol. I, 1813.



of the fees offered because he considered it unprofessional in a lawyer to do so.

His legal study and preparation are probably shadowed forth in a course he recommended as President of the South Carolina College in 1822.<sup>7</sup> It involved one year's study of elementary treatises on the law, three years in a special pleader's office, and three years' practice as a "special pleader under the bar," as the phrase was, before being admitted a barrister. "This," he says, "lays a sure foundation for extensive practice, when called to the bar, as it ensures a regular set of customers during the three years of practice, at half the fees usually taken by barristers." He was not admitted to the bar until 1787.

The earliest published work of Cooper illustrates one of the chief interests of his life, his love of popular freedom. It was a pamphlet entitled *Arguments in Favor of a Reform in the Representation of People*, published in London in 1783. His equally strong scientific interest is exhibited in the same year in a translation which he tells us he made of a treatise on iron, the *Thesis de Analyti Ferri* of Gadolin, for his friend, Dr. Charles Taylor, of Manchester. Perhaps as a result of this favor, he was proposed as an honorary member of the famous Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, then in its infancy, in October, 1783, and elected November 12, 1783.<sup>8</sup> This honor, which he shared with Priestley, Lavoisier, Benjamin Rush, Erasmus Darwin, and Franklin, among others, was conferred upon men not resident in Manchester, who had distinguished themselves by their literary or philosophical publications or had read acceptable papers before the society. Cooper probably moved with his family to the neighborhood of Manchester—a locality congenial to him in many ways—as early as 1795 and completed his legal training there, since his honorary membership in the Literary and Philosophical Society was converted into a resident or ordinary membership December 21, 1785, and his son John was born there September 22, in the same year.

<sup>7</sup> *Port Folio*, March, 1822, "On a Course of Legal Studies," pp. 227-231.

<sup>8</sup> Smith, R. A., *Centenary of Sciences in Manchester*. The dates of Cooper's connection with the society are given in the appendix. There are some inaccuracies in Himes's dates.

On April 26, 1786, he was elected one of the vice-presidents of the society, and he was annually re-elected until his withdrawal in 1791. Before the society the young lawyer-scientist read a number of papers, three of which were published in the society's *Memoirs* in 1791, and three others in Cooper's own *Tracts, Ethical, Theological, and Political*, printed in December, 1787, but not published until 1789, at Warrington. The variety of his learning and interests at this early period is shown by the titles of some of the papers read: "On Moral Obligation," in which he identified duty with the true pursuit of ultimate happiness, read September 29, 1784; "A Sketch of the Controversy on Materialism," in which he enunciated for the first time his noted theory, that the human soul has no existence separate from the tissues of the body, January 17, 1787; "Observations Respecting the History of Physiognomy," a phrenological treatise; "Observations on the Art of Painting among the Ancients," to prove their supposed ignorance of the use of colors; and "On the Foundations of Civil Government." The last, read on March 7, 1787, and several times re-published in various forms, was a remarkable document. He himself called it "the first decidedly Republican tract since the time of Milton, Hampden, and Sidney, except Priestley's *Essay on Government*." It asserted the popular sanction as the only just foundation upon which a governing power could be established. It was very highly praised by Jefferson.<sup>9</sup>

Cooper was admitted to the bar from the Inner Temple in 1787, and he practised, with some intermissions, for three years in the vicinity of Manchester. He is said to have had an extensive legal business. His residence was at Woodheys, in Altringham, Cheshire, a few miles south of Manchester. His associates during this period included James Alan Park, Samuel Romilly, and Thomas Erskine, all of whom became famous lawyers, and James Boswell, the biographer, who was admitted to the English bar in 1786. Of the latter, who was a butt of ridicule for his legal comrades, Cooper had a very poor opinion, as illustrated by the following anecdote: Once at the Lancaster assizes, Park, Romilly, and Cooper subscribed

<sup>9</sup> Himes, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

three guineas on a brief, docketed a trumped-up issue, and sent a fellow to employ Boswell. He accepted the guineas and the brief, and rising at the bar when the case was called, to the great amusement of those present, proceeded to open the case. The judge, soon comprehending the situation, had the case postponed on some pretext. Once Cooper said: "Boswell stayed at the same house with us, drank two or three bottles of port, and got drunk."<sup>10</sup>

As a lawyer, Cooper's humanitarian activities are attested by his friend, Thomas Walker, a manufacturer in Manchester. "He was truly a man whose time and whose labours were ever at the command of the injured and the unfortunate; whose talents and whose learning were uniformly devoted to the great interests of mankind."<sup>11</sup> In the latter part of 1787 Cooper published in the *Manchester Chronicle* a series of four letters to the inhabitants of Manchester, and in October these were republished separately at Manchester and London as *Letters on the Slave Trade*. The little book paints in vivid colors the brutality of the slave trade and of slave life in the West Indies and America, computes the enormous losses of lives involved, and appeals to the commercial sense as well as the sympathies of his fellow-townsmen to arrest the traffic. He had temporarily relinquished the law owing to ill-health and was going on to correct for the press a second volume of *Tracts* "when the subject of the *Slave Trade* began to be agitated; and while my health permitted, the whole of my leisure during that winter was employed in exciting the attention of the inhabitants of Manchester to that infamous and impolitic traffic."<sup>12</sup> A "Supplement" to the *Letters* was printed at Warrington in 1788, which computes at length, with statistics, the number of negroes sacrificed, directly or indirectly, to the slave trade. A third work, *Considerations on the Slave Trade and the Consumption of West Indian Produce*, was published at London in 1791.

Another cause which he supported was that of the Dissenters, who were seeking to obtain the repeal of the restrictive Corporation and Test Acts in opposition to the High

<sup>10</sup> Duyckinck, *op. cit.*

<sup>11</sup> *Review of the Political Events in Manchester during the Last Five Years*, p. 54.

<sup>12</sup> Preface to *Tracts*, etc.

Church party. In 1789 Cooper, as a delegate from the Dissenters of Lancashire and Cheshire, drew up and published a *Brief Statement of the Controversy on the Corporation and Test Acts*. The term "Dissenters" was then applied to a large and influential portion of the inhabitants of Manchester, Birmingham, and other industrial cities, who usually went under the name of Presbyterians though differing greatly in belief from the regular Presbyterian order, and who would now be called Unitarians. Dr. Priestley, of Birmingham, the great English Unitarian leader, was originally a Presbyterian and preached in nominally Presbyterian churches until the time of his leaving England. The friendship between Priestley and Cooper has already been referred to. The earliest mention of the latter in Priestley's correspondence that is preserved dates from March 12, 1790, when he wrote to a friend from Birmingham: "Mr. Cooper is here. I dine with him today at Mr. Russell's. I find by him that a plan is proposed for a kind of representation of the Dissenters in London. I wish it may give satisfaction."<sup>13</sup> Their deep and lasting friendship was further cemented by Cooper's intimacy with Priestley's son, Joseph, Jr., who entered business in Manchester about the end of 1790.

About the year 1789<sup>14</sup> a Frenchman offered to reveal to the Manchester manufacturers for a reward a new method of bleaching cloth, and a meeting was held to confer with him. The information he divulged was unsatisfactory; but from the clues offered, Cooper and two of his friends, Thomas Henry and Dr. Taylor, concluded that the method meant was the French scientist Berthollet's application of oxymuriatic acid, made from common salt. An experiment in bleaching a few pieces of cloth with the acid was partially successful and was later repeated with variations which improved it considerably. Later, when the Frenchman applied for a patent for the process, Cooper was sent to London by the Manchester manufacturers to oppose the granting of the patent. The trial was held before MacDonald, Master of the Rolls, and the Frenchman lost, through the ignorance of his advocate, Graham, concerning the subject at issue. On his return

<sup>13</sup> *Memoirs* (ed. Rutt), Vol. II, p. 58. Letter to Rev. T. Lindsay.

<sup>14</sup> Cooper gives two dates, 1790 and "about 1788," in two separate accounts.

Cooper was informed by his friend Joseph Baker, proprietor of some oil of vitriol works at Worsley, near Manchester, that he had tried an experiment which promised entire success. They worked it out on a large scale, and the method appeared so greatly superior to all others then in use that they embarked, as the firm of Baker and Company, in the bleaching business, in which Cooper probably invested most of his own and his wife's fortunes. For three years Cooper carried on the process "in a building of one room on a bank and another over it" about a mile from Bolton, turning out an average of 800 pieces of calico a year, besides muslins and other goods.<sup>15</sup> Though Cooper always considered their method the best, it was apparently subject to accidental injuries to the fabrics and also caused spitting of blood among the employees who handled the bleached cloths. The firm was discontinued, probably with considerable loss, in 1793, and their method fell into disuse, though Cooper asserts that it was "from no conditions whatever arising from the want of success or want of profit in the practice of this mode of bleaching." The *Anti-Jacobin Review*, advertizing to Cooper in March, 1799, says he burned his "velverets and callicoës" in following out his "novel phlogistic principles" and became a bankrupt. This version, which doubtless contains a germ of truth, was generally believed in both England and America during his lifetime.

The later years at Manchester were surely busy ones. He even, in leisure hours, attended some of the patients of Dr. John Ferriar, a friend and a learned physician, who replied to Cooper in "An Argument against the Doctrines of Materialism." In the summer of 1791 he was seriously ill. In the same year he made with Baker an interesting observation tour to the copper mines of Amlwick, on the isle of Anglesea, which he described long after, relating his experiences with the Welch language and his being overturned in a chaise on a narrow precipice. Numerous shorter trips are also incidentally referred to. He was occasionally in London, too, and his walks, rides, and dinners thereabouts are delightfully remembered by the poet Samuel Rogers in his diary. At such times

<sup>15</sup> Their process is outlined in full by Cooper in his address "On Bleaching," 1817, and also in his edition of Willich's *Domestic Encyclopedia*, article on Bleaching.

he met not only his friends, Rogers and Dr. Priestley, but also Benjamin West, the painter, Dr. Adair Crawford, Dr. Aikin, Richard ("Conversation") Sharp, Sheridan, John Horne Tooke, Tuffin, and numerous others of the younger wits and statesmen. At Manchester he had many friends, notably Thomas Walker, a fellow-manufacturer, Joseph Priestley, Jr., who has been mentioned, and James Watt, Jr., son of the famous inventor. Young Watt, at the conclusion of his rather expensive education at home and abroad, entered a banking house at Manchester in 1788 and was soon drawn into enthusiastic friendship with Cooper. One of Watt's letters to his father's partner, Boulton (March 26, 1789), requests him to recommend some person to Mr. Cooper "to keep his library in order and make experiments for him, he not having time to attend to the details of them himself."<sup>16</sup>

All these men, however, were most vitally concerned in that great storm of the French Revolution, which was then raging and which electrified the minds of countless young men like Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Southey, and filled them with hopes of a similar extension of popular freedom and governmental reform in their own country. When the Manchester branch of the Constitutional Society was formed in October, 1790, in opposition to the earlier "Church and King Club," he became one of the leading members, holding the office of steward. Thomas Walker was president and Samuel Jackson secretary. Cooper, on his frequent visits to London, attended the meetings of the society there, as for example in the spring of 1791 and in January, 1793. His activity in this connection, as well as the previous publication of his political treatises, brought him into close intimacy with the liberal leaders, most of them young men, like Fox, Sheridan, Erskine, John Horne Tooke, Burke, and the younger Pitt, for whom, by the way, he always maintained a profound dislike. Somewhere, too, he met and admired the ubiquitous Tom Paine. Two letters from Cooper to John Horne Tooke,<sup>17</sup> in the summer of 1791, reveal that the Manchester Constitutional Society had formally asked Cooper to prepare for publication

<sup>16</sup> Smiles, *Lives of Boulton and Watt*, p. 406.

<sup>17</sup> Howell's *State Trials*, Vol. XXV, pp. 120-121.

an abridged edition of Paine's *Rights of Man*.<sup>18</sup> Tooke characteristically never replied to them, and the proposed abridgement probably came to naught. On November 4, 1791, Cooper, together with Watt, Walker, and Jackson, severed his connections with the Literary and Philosophical Society. The memorable Birmingham riots, in which Dr. Priestley's church, his home, and his priceless manuscripts and scientific apparatus were destroyed by a Church and King mob, had occurred on July 14 of that year. When the society, of which Priestley was an honorary member, re-convened after its summer recess, a vote of sympathy was moved by Samuel Jackson. Upon its being indefinitely postponed, these four members withdrew.<sup>19</sup>

The most memorable act of Cooper's whole life in England, however, was his trip to Paris in March, 1792, with his young friend, James Watt. Watt was sent thither on business by his banking house, and Cooper "accompanied him as a relaxation from a long continued application to business here, and because I was glad of the opportunity of visiting Paris with a man whom I love and esteem and whose introductions to society there were the same with my own."<sup>20</sup> They observed and studied together the methods and apparatus of the French manufacturers, particularly those making use of chemicals, in which France then far excelled the rest of Europe. They visited Condorcet and Lavoisier and associated with the brilliant but ill-fated group of scientists and economists who had thrown themselves whole-heartedly into the cause of the Revolution and who gathered at the *salon* of Madame Robert to formulate the sane and moderate counsels of the Girondist or Brissotian party. Wordsworth, who was in France at the same time, at Orleans and Blois, was also leagued with the Girondists.

Cooper and Watt brought also letters from the Manchester Constitutional Society which secured their introduction to the leaders of the Jacobin Club at Paris, including Petion, the mayor, whom Cooper described as "a good, candid fellow,

<sup>18</sup> These letters were written from Lever Hall, near Bolton, Lancashire. This may indicate a change of residence from Altringham.

<sup>19</sup> Smith, R. A., *op. cit.*

<sup>20</sup> *Reply to Burke.*

on whom you might rely . . . more like an Englishman than any Frenchman I have ever seen."<sup>21</sup> After they had been in Paris nearly a month, the Manchester society, possibly at their instigation, instructed them to present an address of felicitation to the Jacobin Club on the part of the society. Petion conducted them through a carpenter's shop and up a ladder to the place which was occupied by Robespierre. Him they found "dressed up . . . a complete *petit maitre*, a dandy . . . a little pale man, with dark hair,"<sup>22</sup> who nevertheless received them well. They told him they were entrusted with an address to be presented to the club, and arrangements were made. Concerning the delivery there was some misunderstanding, perhaps due to Cooper's poor speaking knowledge of French. He expected Robespierre to read the address, and when the latter repeatedly refused to do so, said to him, "*Citoyen, vous etes coquin meprisable!*" This quarrel won him at the outset the enmity of the most dangerous man in France.

The "Address to the Society of Friends of the Constitution" was delivered by Cooper in the Hall of the Jacobins on the thirteenth of April, 1792, after a public procession in which Cooper and Watt walked, carrying the British flag. The address had been written by Cooper and translated into French by Watt, and was signed by both as authorized delegates of the Manchester society. Cooper said it "was well received, and with considerable noise." It conveyed to the French revolutionists the sympathy of the Manchester organization as representing many similar bodies in England, welcomed them fraternally as compatriots in the great cause of human freedom and as benefactors of the human race, and offered assistance in their efforts to establish and propagate the principles of liberty, the empire of peace, and the happiness of mankind. The address was responded to in a similar vein by the vice-president, Carra, who emphasized the friendship of the English and the French peoples and recalled the "glorious revolution" of just a century before in England. A more formal reply to be sent to Manchester was drawn up next day, and all three documents were ordered printed in Paris and were reprinted

<sup>21</sup> Duyckinck, *op. cit.*

<sup>22</sup> Duyckinck, *op. cit.*



by the society in Manchester on May 8. The Constitutional Society at London also, having heard of the welcome given to Messrs. Cooper and Watt, of Manchester, "and united with our society," sent on May 11 an address of felicitation to the Jacobins, which ended thus: "In this best of causes we wish you success; our hearts go with you; and in saying this we believe we utter the voice of millions."

Of Cooper's further experiences in Paris there are various conflicting accounts, based upon his own reminiscences of twenty or thirty years later. The four or five months he spent there he called the happiest in his life. Like Wordsworth, he was thrilled with enthusiasm for the great aims of the Revolution. The days were filled with excitement, conflict, and danger. "Every moment was a century," said Cooper. "When there every energy of my mind was called out and every moment engaged. Some important event unceasingly occurred and incessantly occupied the mind."<sup>23</sup> His conduct in his quarrel with Robespierre was publicly defended by Brissot, and after it he kept chiefly with the Brissotians. Learning that some Frenchmen who frequented their company were Robespierre's spies, he and Watt adopted the expedient of dining with them daily and getting them drunk with wine. It appears that, intoxicated themselves with the prevailing excitement, and perceiving plainly the increasing menace of Robespierre's power, the two Englishmen even projected a bold plot, in which Cooper was to have the chief part, to go in a body to Robespierre, insult him, compel him to fight a duel, and kill him. The expedient appeared too dangerous or too cold-blooded, however, for the Girondists, to whom they unfolded it; and after being publicly denounced by Robespierre, they fled the inevitable result with the assistance of friends, Watt going to Germany and Cooper returning safely to England, whither the equally disillusioned Wordsworth was soon to follow. Even after this it was announced on September 25 by the *Patriote*, of Paris, that the title of Citizen of France was conferred upon Cooper by the Commission Extraordinaire. Cooper related, too, that in his absence someone nominated him for the Constituent Assembly in opposition to the Duke of Orleans, "but the Duke beat me."

<sup>23</sup> Duyckinck, *op. cit.*

On his return to England he found himself in an interesting situation. The effort to bring about a constitutional reform in England had come to a head in Parliament in April, when Fox gave it his support. Burke, now definitely antagonistic to France, replied in a dramatic speech on the thirtieth of April, in which among others he bitterly denounced Cooper and Watt as "ambassadors extraordinary" to "that infamous band of regicides, the Jacobin Club", and charged that they plotted to spread their detestable doctrines through a federation of the people of England with those of France. To this attack Cooper responded, within a fortnight after his return, in a vigorous and effective, if intemperate, *Reply to Mr. Burke's Invective Against Mr. Cooper and Mr. Watt in the House of Commons on the 30th of April, 1792*. Its bitterness was doubtless intensified by the fact that Cooper and Burke had previously been friends in the liberal cause. He assailed Burke's intelligence and political probity in no mild terms. The charge against them was a palpable untruth; "Burke was probably mistaken in supposing us the worst men in the Kingdom whilst he is alive to make the assertion." "Boldly rejecting the mask of hypocrisy, he stands forward to the world as the public professor of political turpitude, the systematic opposer of any measure of reform, and, in love with the very sinfulness of sin, he unblushingly obtrudes himself on the disgusted eye of the public in all the nakedness and deformity of political vice."

Such abuse, it must be admitted, was in keeping with the tone of political controversy in both England and America at the time. Cooper, however, went much farther in seriously questioning the fundamental character of the English government. The parliament is represented in his *Reply* as a venial body, self-appointed or controlled by lords and rich landowners, who legislate for their own interest and not for the people—who may, he adds, "at some moment of intolerable provocation . . . regard this self-elected House of Representatives as a House of Ill-fame . . . and abate the nuisance." These were bold words, which pointed toward an uprising similar to that in France. He ventured on to attack the hereditary system of the monarchy and the nobility

on the ground of the lack of hereditary qualities, their pride and selfishness, and the tendency of their luxurious lives to idleness and immorality. They are "encumbrances, absurd, useless, dangerous, and unjust." The annual cost to the English people of maintaining their governmental system is more-over too great—25,000,000 pounds sterling as contrasted with \$600,000 for the American government. "The American republicans," he adds, "have taught us that nations may flourish and be happy who have no bishops, no nobles, no kings." He does not stop short even of criticizing adversely the reign of George III, calling the American war "a foul blot on the character of the nation." The theory of divine right is dismissed with Lafayette's epigrammatic remark, "For a nation to change its government, it is sufficient that she wills it." The standing army is condemned as useless and a menace to popular liberty.

It is easy to understand how a document of this sort might be regarded as dangerous to the state in 1792, when the country was seething with reform agitation, when rioting was frequent, and when suspicion of revolutionary conspiracies was widespread. He himself had become a marked man. He said once that at this time a list of opponents to the administration had been drawn up for prosecution, with Tooke's name at the head and his own near the top. His *Reply to Burke* ran to an edition of 6,000 copies, but when he proposed to reduce its eighty-three finely printed pages to a cheap pamphlet for propaganda distribution among the masses, the attorney-general, Sir John Scott, remarked: "As long as you sell this at a high price, you can do no harm; but the moment it is turned into a penny slip, that moment I will prosecute you."<sup>24</sup> The project was accordingly dropped.

At Manchester, however, Cooper continued writing vigorously. In his letters to Tooke he wrote that the opinions of the Constitutional Society were excluded from the pages of the two Manchester newspapers and that an independent paper was projected. This, the *Manchester Herald*, was issued from March 31, 1792, to March 23, 1793, and Cooper was one of its chief contributors. On December 10, 1792, when it seemed that the administration was drifting into open war with France,

<sup>24</sup> *Federal Cases* (U. S. Circuit and District Courts), Book 25, Case No. 14,865.

he issued an address called "War," over the signature "Sydney," in which he inquired of the tradesmen of Manchester whether they were willing to tolerate the expenses of a war of aggression. On the night of the eleventh the *Herald* establishment was nearly demolished by a mob. Cooper's address was reprinted, but the distributor, Benjamin Booth, was "taken up" by the authorities.

In this year Cooper also republished his *Propositions Respecting the Foundations of Civil Government*, appending to it this remarkable declaration:<sup>25</sup>

"Since these propositions were first published I have repeatedly considered the subject of the *rights of women* and I am perfectly unable to suggest any argument in support of the political superiority so generally arrogated to the male sex which will not equally apply to any system of despotism of man over man. . . . we first keep their minds and thus their persons in subjection, we educate women from infancy to marriage in such a way as to debilitate both their corporeal and mental powers. All the accomplishments we teach them are directed not to *their* future benefit in life, but to the amusement of the male sex; and having for a series of years with much assiduity, and sometimes at much expense, incapacitated them for any serious occupation, we say they are not fit to govern themselves, and arrogate the right of making them slaves through life. . . . I have read the writings of Mrs. M. Graham, of Miss Wollstoncroft, of Mrs. Barbauld, of Mrs. Montague, Miss Carter, Miss Seward, Mrs. Dotson, Miss H. M. Williams, etc., in England. I have conversed with Theroigne, with Madame Condorcet, Madame Rob-ert, Madame Lavoisier, etc., in Paris. What these women are other women might become. I have often felt my own inferiority, and often lamented the present iniquitous and most absurd notions on the subject of the disparity of the sexes. I have conversed with politicians and read the writings of politicians, but I have seldom met with views more enlarged, more just, more truly patriotic; or with political reasonings more acute, or arguments more forcible than in the conversations of Theroigne and the writings of Miss Wollston-

<sup>25</sup> Reprinted in R. A. Smith, *Centenary of Sciences in Manchester*, pp. 511-512.

croft. Let the defenders of male despotism answer (if they can) 'The Rights of Women,' by Miss Wollstoncroft."

In the meantime there had been many disappointments. The bleaching business had turned out badly. The political notoriety attached to his name injured him with his scientific friends. He had been rejected for membership in the Royal Society in April, 1790, by a vote of 24 to 20, though strongly recommended by Priestley, Crawford and others. The mere suggestion of his name, though immediately withdrawn, in the London Society of the Friends of the People, on May 19, 1792, caused the withdrawal of Lord John Russell and four other members. His friend Walker's house had been mobbed in the December riots of 1792 at Manchester as Priestley's had been earlier. The business partner of another friend, Joseph Priestley, Jr., dissolved the firm because Priestley's name was so unpopular. By 1793, moreover, the remarkable series of prosecutions for conspiracy against the government, of which Tooke's and Thomas Hardy's were the most famous, had begun, though through the effort of Cooper's friend Erskine, most of them were defeated. Cooper's name was often mentioned in these trials, and he had shrewd reasons to expect his turn to come. Overshadowing all those vexations, in Cooper's case as in that of Wordsworth and thousands of ardent young Englishmen, was the complete degeneration of the revolution in France, for which they had hoped and prophesied so much. England lapsed into a hopeless conservatism, and it is small wonder that Cooper and men like him should have turned their eyes to America as the sole land of promise.

In February, 1793, Cooper was again in London, attending the meetings of the Constitutional Society, and perhaps making plans for a colonization scheme to be engineered largely by himself and Joseph Priestley, Jr., both now out of business at Manchester. Their intention was to establish a colony of republican Englishmen, many of whom were scattering to different parts of North America, somewhere in the unsettled interior part of the United States. The project is thus outlined by young Priestley:

"The scheme of settlement was not confined to any particular class or character of men, religious or political. It

was set on foot to be, as it were, a rallying-point for the English, who were at that time emigrating to America in great numbers, and who, it was thought, would be more happy in society of the kind they had been accustomed to, than they would be dispersed, as they are now, through the whole of the United States. It was farther thought, that by the union of industry and capital, the wilderness would soon become cultivated, and equal to any other part of the country in everything necessary to the enjoyment of life. To promote this as much as possible, the original projectors of that scheme reserved only a few shares for themselves, for which they paid the same as those who had no trouble or expense either in forming the plan or carrying it into existence. This they did with a view to take away all source of jealousy, and to increase the facility of settlement by increasing the proportion of settlers to the quantity of land to be settled."<sup>20</sup>

In June, 1793, Cooper was again in London, with his friend Walker, who was also interested in the American scheme but was now definitely threatened with prosecution for conspiracy to overthrow the government. On August 24 he wrote from the port of Deal to Rogers, with whom he had dined at the Stock Exchange just before leaving London, that he was on the point of boarding ship for America. With him went a part of his family and Priestley's eldest and youngest sons, Joseph and Henry. It was purely and simply a prospecting trip. The party were to look over the field, find the most favorable site, investigate prices, and ascertain all the information needful for colonists. They visited the north-easterly states but spent most of their time in and around Philadelphia, whither they went in October. Congress was then in session there and to the different members the prospectors applied freely for information regarding their respective sections. On December 14, 1793, Cooper, with Joseph Priestley, Jr., and two other companions, set out on horseback for an investigation tour *via* Reading to Northumberland and Sunbury and the country beyond, returning home *via* Harrisburg on December 30. Like most Europeans who dreamed of founding settlements in America, they were

<sup>20</sup> Priestley, *Memoirs* (Rutt ed.), Vol. II.

attracted to the beautiful and fertile banks of the Susquehanna, and they planned to occupy for their colony a tract of 300,000 acres near the head of that river, about fifty miles from Northumberland.

Cooper returned to England in February, 1794, leaving the Priestleys, now joined by their remaining brother, William, to await the coming of their father and mother. That Cooper considered himself in some danger in England seems to be shown by the secrecy of his movements. He wrote to Rogers from Philadelphia, December 14, 1793: "I will be at your house in March: *incognito* like other great men. Mention this, with strong intimations of secrecy, to Tuffin and Sharp. . . . Russell, Priestley, and T. Walker (not R. Walker nor any of my friends or my family) know of my intention. I hope to come over with sufficient inducement for others to return with me."<sup>27</sup> The last sentence refers to the results of his investigations, together with those of Dr. Joshua Toulmin, a Unitarian minister, who had left England a month before Cooper and visited the Southern states, chiefly Virginia, with a similar purpose. These results were published in London and Dublin early in 1794 as *Some Information Respecting America*. A second London edition and a French edition at Paris, entitled *Renseignemens sur L'Amerique*, appeared in 1795, besides a pamphlet *Extract of a Letter on the Subject of Emigration*, un.ated. The book comprised 249 pages, with a map of the United States, and was designed as a guide for prospective British emigrants to America. It differed, therefore, from the usual volume of travels in this country in including primarily useful information as to cost of living, routes of travel, desirability of soil, necessary equipment, and such matters. Central Pennsylvania was recommended as the best place to settle. Another important inclusion was a summary of the social, economic, and political systems of the American republic. In this he anticipated Lincoln's famous phrase by characterizing the government as one "of the people and for the people."<sup>28</sup>

The book seems to have been very popular and to have stimulated and aided emigration from Ireland as well as Eng-

<sup>27</sup> Clayden, P. W., *Early Life of Samuel Rogers*, p. 285.

<sup>28</sup> Page 53.

land. Coleridge seems to have devoured it eagerly, and at the height of his enthusiasm for the projected Pantisocracy, wrote to his comrade Southey, on October 21, 1794: "By all means read, ponder on Cowper [sic] and when I hear your thoughts, I will give you the result of my own." In fact, it is not unlikely that the germ of the Pantisocracy idea was derived from Cooper's and Priestley's similar project, which must have been freely talked of among the young liberals in England in the summer of 1793. Coleridge and Southey were at this time both Unitarians and democrats; and there is no evidence whatever of their having formed the idea even of emigrating before late in 1793, when Cooper was already in America and his design was probably fairly well known. George Dyer, who was a friend of both Priestley and Coleridge, wrote to the latter shortly after Priestley left for America that the Doctor would probably join the Pantisocratic colony. Surely, Cooper's plan is more likely to have suggested Southey's and Coleridge's ideal colony than is the French Town settlement, of which there is no reason to suppose that the two friends had ever heard before 1795.<sup>29</sup>

Cooper attended the trial of his friend, Thomas Walker, for treason, at Lancaster early in April, 1794, but his name does not appear on the list of counsel for Walker, as has been asserted. He seems, however, to have been instrumental in proving the perjury of Dunn, the state's only important witness, and thus securing the complete and triumphant vindication of Walker. Very soon afterward he probably set sail with the remainder of his family, and perhaps some colonists, for America. Dr. and Mrs. Priestley followed in a short time, though they did not arrive in New York, after a rough voyage, until June 5. On May 1, 1794, Thomas Jefferson wrote to Tench Cox: "I am sorry that Mr. Cooper and Mr. Priestley did not take a more general survey of our country before they fixed themselves."<sup>30</sup> From this it appears likely that Cooper had already arrived at Philadelphia and gone on to Northumberland to join Joseph Priestley, Jr. He never returned to England.

<sup>29</sup> See William Haller's *The Early Life of Robert Southey*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1917, pp. 139 ff.

<sup>30</sup> On January 18, 1800, Jefferson wrote to Dr. Priestley, "How sincerely have I regretted that your friend [Cooper] did not visit the vallies on each side of the blue ridge in Virginia, as Mr. Madison and I so much wished."



## Samuel J. Tilden and the Revival of the Democratic Party

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The Democrats at the close of the Civil War seemed almost as badly discredited as were the Federalists in 1815. They it was who had furnished the leaders of secession in the South and the opponents of the prosecution of the war in the North. Such of their number as had enthusiastically supported the coercion of the Confederacy had, early in the struggle, rallied under the Union party banner; but the recognized Democratic leaders had either openly opposed the war or sharply criticized its conduct by the administration. If anything were needed to complete the party's discredit in the heated days of Reconstruction it was provided by the unrepentant, recalcitrant utterances of the "Bourbons." The Republicans, very naturally, sought promptly and persistently to take full advantage of this popular revulsion for the opposition. The legend that the Democratic party had sought to break up the Union and that the Republican party had preserved it was started and every effort was made to secure its acceptance as a patriotic shibboleth. The opposition was not only to be reprobated for its evil deeds of the past but it was to be prevented from carrying out its malicious designs in the future. Appeals of this sort, reinforced by the constant waving of the "bloody shirt," proved highly effective. Such victories as the Democrats secured in the early post-bellum years were merely local. "New departures," elaborately staged in state conventions, were wholly unavailing for the restoration of public confidence, and by the opening of the seventies there was little evidence that the party would ever again be entrusted with the nation's destinies. With such a disheartening prospect, not a few of the faithful lost hope, and by 1870 some of the eminent leaders were raising their voices for an abandonment of the organization fathered by Jefferson and Jackson.

The contrast between this impotent, discredited situation of the Democracy at the beginning of the seventies and its em-

urgence six years later as the majority party of the nation is one of the marvels of American politics. Many influences, it is evident, must have entered into this remarkable "come-back." In the first place, the element of time—the unreasoning demand for a change of party just for the sake of change—worked, as always, for the opposition. More definite factors are to be found in the breaking up, over the constitutional issues of Reconstruction, of the Union party combination; the full and frank acceptance of the results of the war, evinced in the endorsement of Greeley and the Liberal platform; the formation of a "Solid South" as a steady nucleus for an electoral majority; the western independent party movements, along with the general agrarian unrest of the period; the panic of 1873; and the wide-spread demand for reform in state and nation by which the opposition was able to profit. But the utilization and exploitation of all of these influences for the advantage of the Democracy required leaders superior to those the party had had during the past decade, leaders who could read and take profit by the signs of the times and who would not be looking backward to a lost cause. Foremost in any list of the leaders in this Democratic revival must be placed the name of Samuel J. Tilden, and it is the aim of the present paper to consider his services in this connection.

Tilden had had a thorough and expert preparation for the leadership of his party in these critical years. The true politician seems to be born, not made, and Tilden's lisps were of things political. His apprenticeship was served with the Albany Regency, in close association with its head master, Van Buren. The pupil was most apt and precocious; he was soon able to advise his teachers in party finesse. Always an extreme partisan, he had been forced in the factious days that followed the Regency's supremacy to choose between the rival camps. In '48 in the Barnburner-Free-soil movement, along with Regency associates, he had stood at Armageddon and battled for the Lord—for one brief campaign. Later, following the same alignment, he had acted with the "Soft" or free-soil element of the party. But his convictions on this issue had not been strong enough to take him over to the Republicans in the anti-Nebraska secession. On the contrary, he

considered the sectional character of the party as most malign, and, in the manner of the typical politician of the time, deprecated the disruptive influence in national politics of the whole slavery question. In the years just preceding the war he had been a director of Dean Richmond's neo-Regency-reformed Tammany combination against Fernando Wood—the *bête noire* of the New York City politics of his day—and his Mozart Hall organization.

In the campaign of 1860 Tilden had labored, above all else, to unite the different elements of the opposition and had been instrumental in securing a coalition electoral ticket in New York. In the critical days between the election and secession he had been a chief promoter of the various conciliation activities and projects—peace mass meetings and peace conventions, and the agitations for a general convention to propose amendments to the constitution. Prior to the firing on Sumter he had on various occasions expressed himself strongly against the use of force. In this position, to be sure, he was but voicing the sentiment at that time of the moderates of all parties in the North.

During the war Tilden had been the cautious politician, outwardly devoted to the truest public interest but ever alive to a possible partisan advantage. He had been neither the pronounced war Democrat nor the extreme "Copperhead," peace Democrat. He had been a leading spirit in the unofficial opposition to the policies of the administration. In 1863, along with other prominent constitutionally-minded Democrats, he had helped to establish the "Society for the Diffusion of Political Knowledge." This organization, working in opposition to the "Loyal Publication Society," had distributed literature defending slavery and attacking the constitutionality of Lincoln's war measures. On the other hand, he had given advice freely to members of the cabinet, had on occasion addressed patriotic demonstrations, and had contributed a thousand dollars to the present to General Grant. He had been zealous to remove from his party the stigma of secession sympathy. While before the war he had held there was no authority to coerce the South, when the struggle was once joined he maintained that the party was opposed to the disruption of

the Union and sought merely to secure the constitutional rights of all the sections. In the Chicago convention of 1864 he had been a leading opponent of the Copperhead, Vallandigham, faction, but characteristically he had not carried his opposition far enough to occasion dissension in the party. Tilden's war record was to cause him considerable embarrassment, but it might easily have been worse.

Such had been the preliminary experience in practical politics of the man who was to find his great opportunity for the leadership of his party in the transitional period following the war. Thus far Tilden had no great reputation in the country at large; but, as his correspondence clearly shows, his opinion was much sought and highly regarded in national party councils. Already there was manifested something of his skill as a party manager and still more of his adroit opportunism.

The first task of the far-sighted leaders of the Democracy in the rehabilitation of their party was to restore the popular confidence in its safety and sanity. To this end coalitions or general understandings with "conservative," or otherwise disaffected Republicans, seemed the most hopeful course. The break between the Democratically-inclined President Johnson and the radicals in Congress presented a good opportunity. Tilden was an active promoter of the Independent Reform movement in 1866 and served as a delegate-at-large and as the president of his state's delegation in the Philadelphia "Arm in Arm" convention. In the ensuing campaign he was a warm defender of the President's policies. But in return for this support Tilden, as the leader of the New York Democratic organization, sought to have a voice in the redistribution of the patronage, and was very free with advice in that regard. It was even suggested in 1867 that prominent Democrats, like Tilden and Church, enter the cabinet. But, could this have been arranged, the party's leaders felt that they could not commit themselves thus far to the unpopular cause of the administration. As a matter of fact, the only intent of the Democrats had been to use the coalition so long as it would serve their ends; they had never for a moment contemplated seriously the President's scheme for the formation of a new

party. An enthusiastic young follower voiced this sentiment in writing to Tilden in 1866, that the great thing was to restore the state to the control of the old Democratic organization "and for this we must carry this state election first, no matter what allies we have to take in for the present." At least one member of the administration, shrewd old Gideon Welles, saw through their designs. Commenting on a conversation with Tilden in the fall of 1866, he confided to his celebrated Diary (September 27, 1866) this true estimate and accurate forecast:

"Tilden has good sense, intelligence, honesty, but is a strong party man. Sees everything with partisan eyes, yet understandingly. In 1848 and for a time thereafter he was a Barnburner, going with the Van Burens, but very soon was homesick, sighed for the old organization, and continued to long for the 'leeks and onions' of his political Egypt, until he got once more into the regular Democratic fold. From that time he has clung to the horns of party with undying tenacity. During the war he did not side with the Rebels, but he disliked and abjured the Administration. At this time he supports the President, but I perceive that he aims to do it as a Democrat rather than as a patriot, and that he is striving to identify the President with the Democratic organization. I regret that he and other New York extremists should pursue this course. It will be likely to give strength to the Radicals and defeat the Administration in the coming elections. Tilden speaks of success, which I am confident he cannot feel. He and his party have, it appears to me, alienated instead of recruited men who would have united with them and thereby given victory to the Radicals."

Welles's suspicion of Tilden's motives was fully justified the following year, when the New York Democrats decided that it was time to cut loose from the President, who was of no further service and who might bring them discredit. Johnson was accordingly completely ignored in the resolutions and speeches of the state convention. Tilden's conference a few days later with the President's representative, Colonel Cooper, was no more satisfactory to the administration. According to Welles's report (Diary for October 4, 1867):

"Tilden talked well, but the tendency was to maintain a New York party organization and to cut clear of the Administration. It is a party, not a patriotic, scheme, and will fail. Tilden's partyism is weakness and does not surprise me so much as it does Cooper. The President is too much identified with Seward, has been too much advised by him, to gain the affections or even the good will of the New York Democrats. There was intentional rebuke of the President by the

managing New York Democrats—Seymour, Tilden, etc.,—in omitting the President's name in their late State Convention, or any allusion to him. In this way they were ungenerous and committed a mistake which they may regret. Their ambition is overleaping itself."

The Independent Reform coalition, while seemingly futile so far as the carrying of elections was concerned, had an important influence upon national parties. It made more definite the division in the Union party and thus helped to prepare the way for the open break of the Liberal Republicans in 1872. Precedents for the Democratic-Liberal coalition, in addition to the one just noted, were furnished by the coalition and "passive" policies of the Democrats in the border states in the years 1869-1870. With the continued defeats and popular discredit of the Democrats there was considerable sentiment for a coalition on a new party basis. In the Senate (June 10, 1872) Chandler charged that at a conference in New York the preceding November an agreement had been entered into between "a distinguished Democratic Senator and a distinguished Senator who had formerly been a Republican, with Samuel J. Tilden and divers and sundry other Democrats that I could name, that a new party should be organized to be called the reform party." Whatever assurances Tilden may have given at this time, it is safe to conclude that his zeal for a new party was no stronger than it had been in 1866. At this time, in the midst of his struggle with the ring, as will be noted, Tilden's "political fortunes were at their lowest ebb." But his opinion on the party's politics in the national campaign was eagerly sought. Disappointed as he must have been, in common with every other old-line Democrat, with Greeley's nomination by the prospective allies, he thought that the Democrats had gone too far in promoting the Liberal movement to draw out at that late day. In this he was wise. The Liberal movement, in spite of its disastrous campaign, undoubtedly did more than any other one thing to re-establish the Democracy in the popular estimation.

An issue that brought the Democrats some local and temporary successes in these years, but one which, if openly avowed, would have prevented the party from securing a national triumph, was that of inflation. Tilden had strongly criticized the issue of legal tender during the war, and now,

with the point-of-view of the eastern capitalist, he could feel nothing but repugnance for the whole "rag money" propaganda. But as a party leader he felt that it was necessary to temporize for a time. In the state convention of '67 differences developed over the question in the resolutions committee, and the matter was referred for final report to Tilden and two associates. Their resolution calling for a "simplification and equality in taxation and a currency for the benefit of the people instead of corporations, to the end that the public faith may be preserved and the burdens of taxation lessened" was somewhat equivocal, as well as demagogical. The statement seemingly favored the taxation of government bonds, but when such an amendment was presented Tilden opposed it on the ground that the Supreme Court had already decided that policy unconstitutional and there was therefore no occasion to introduce such a "firebrand" into the party. In the national convention of 1868 the New York delegation, led by Tilden, accepted the platform of the promoters of the "Ohio idea," but blocked the nomination of the most conspicuous champion of the "idea." With the growth of the greenback movement in the seventies and with the infusion of the heresy into several of the Democratic state organizations, Tilden stood forth more resolutely as a defender of sound monetary principles, and he undoubtedly did much to maintain the party's reputation in the East. Cleveland, whose political leadership was so at variance with that of Tilden at most points, had a sincere admiration for the older leader's work for sound currency, and believed that it was largely owing to Tilden's influence that the dangerous trend toward inflation had been checked.

But the service which established Tilden as the real national leader of his party was his spectacular achievement for reform in state politics. In 1866 upon the death of Dean Richmond, Tilden became chairman of the state committee, and if the statement of an admirer that Richmond's mantle had fallen on Tilden seems incongruous, as regards the personality of the two men, there can be no doubt that the political succession was worthily carried on. His able management was evinced by the success of the state ticket in the

years 1867-1870. His position in the party was freely recognized at home and abroad. In the campaign of 1868 he was consulted about candidates by leaders from all over the country and was the recognized spokesman of his delegation in the convention. In the ensuing campaign he was the chief adviser of his old friend, Seymour, and many regarded him as the real voice of authority.

But trouble for his organization was just ahead in the Tweed ring exposures. As state chairman Tilden had been more or less closely associated with the Tammany chiefs—his biographer tells us, half boastingly, that Tilden “had no fear of being over-reached by any one,” and that he “used men of low standards for his own purposes when they could be made useful”—and he must have been aware of their predatory activities. Despite his emphatic declaration that he had always been opposed to this element, the fact remains and must ever stand against his public record that, putting party unity above the public interest, he failed sooner to turn against the rascals within the party fold. But when once the exposures came, he was quick to seek to extirpate the accursed thing, and his and Charles O’Conor’s effective work alone kept the party in the state from complete discredit.

In the rôle of reformer Tilden had to meet the full force of the powers of darkness in both of the parties. But he had taken his stand most opportunely; reform was in the air and he was able to profit to the fullest by his vigorous, if belated, efforts to purify politics. On his record as a ring-smasher he was carried into the governorship in the Democratic “land-slide” of 1874. Here in his encounter with the bi-partisan Canal Ring he gained new laurels which made secure his title as reformer. He appeared as by far his party’s most available presidential candidate on a “turn-the-rascals-out” appeal. Despite his war record, his corporation activities, and his past political associations, he stood higher in the good graces of the independents than any other man in the public eye. The reform governor’s public record was far from invulnerable, but with his anti-ring reputation, his well-known convictions on the currency, and his powers of organization, he was un-



questionably the strongest candidate that his party could have presented at this time.

The campaign of 1876 marked the culmination of Tilden's long and persistent efforts to build up the Democratic party, and at the same time to promote his own political fortunes. To these ends he had developed and perfected organization and machinery to an unprecedented degree. The most effective campaign devices in use since that time are largely his creations. Organization by school districts, the close co-ordination of local leaders with the state organization, the wide distribution of "educational" literature, and the personal letter, with photographed signature, to the individual voter were all parts of his system. A still more unique element of personal strength was to be found in his following of devoted young Democrats—"that band," says William C. Hudson, "a member of which was to be found in each county of the state, which was the nucleus of that powerful organization Tilden subsequently builded for his own advancement, and which later was styled by his enemies 'Tilden's nincompoops'." David B. Hill wrote, in 1882, that his district had been "solid for our side ever since you asked me to take hold of it and make it right which was in 1875." Then, too, as a man of large wealth, Tilden was able to contribute generously to the "sinews of war." These contributions, says the biographer, "were usually as large and often larger than those of any other person to the end of his days." In his own national canvass these various elements of strength were alike the confidence of his supporters and the anxiety of his opponents.

In his presidential canvass Tilden's political leadership reached its height. In the crisis which followed the election he was woefully vacillating and ineffective. Broken in health and apparently unnerved by the great personal interest at stake, his political generalship was gone. But, with a majority of the popular vote, the election was practically a triumph for the Democrats, and to that triumph the defeated candidate had contributed very appreciably. His adroitness in securing advantage from Republican factions without entangling alliances, his skill in party organization, his influence in keeping the party sound on the currency question, and his utilization of

the reform issue, all entitle him to large credit for the revival of his party.

After the election of 1876, while Tilden was still looked upon by many as the leader of the party, his influence was steadily on the wane. The cipher telegram exposures detracted from his reform standing, his indecision in the electoral crisis had lowered his prestige with the organization, and his physical weakness made further campaigns impracticable. Furthermore, he was out of touch with the new age that was coming during his last years. In spite of his good service for reform, Tilden was always under the old political dispensation whose ideal was the Albany Regency. Between him and the Cleveland Democracy there was little in common.<sup>1</sup> Naturally, with this difference in standards and ideals, the new leader felt under no obligation to follow the advice of the old or to reward his henchmen with offices. With Cleveland's rise to power the old leader passed into oblivion.

Tilden is a character by no means easy to understand, and the extreme laudation of friends and the equally extreme denunciations of enemies have not aided to a better comprehension. There is much in his record that is contradictory and much that is illusory. His personality, indeed, would furnish a worthy subject for one of Mr. Gamaliel Bradford's psychographic portraits. But the more one studies Tilden's writings and public record the more one is impressed with the large part which politics played in his existence. Professor H. J. Ford has pointed out that Tilden exemplified the combination of a "great politician and a great statesman, because of his eminence in both respects."<sup>2</sup> However, it is often hard to separate the two in his motives and activities, and certain it is that party advantage was never absent from his reasonings and policies. His Boswell, John Bigelow, tells us, in his personal recollections, that, while he as a young man was interested in the philosophy of government and politics, his friend Tilden had an interest only in politics of the practical sort. It is this decidedly practical interest that comes out in Tilden's correspondence, from beginning to end. Late in life, in dissuading

<sup>1</sup> Compare Ross, "Grover Cleveland and the Beginning of an Era of Reform," *SOUTH ATLANTIC QUARTERLY*, XVIII, 163.

<sup>2</sup> *Rise and Growth of American Politics*, 316.

his nephew from following a political career, he tells him, first of all, "You cannot afford the expense of such a career. You cannot afford to pay even the first assessment." Party editors are advised from time to time about making the right sort of suggestions to influence public opinion. In expressing concern at Cleveland's failure to utilize the appointing power to build up the organization, he expresses sentiments which are so characteristic that they merit quotation at length:

"It is necessary that the appointing power should find our friends in every locality, who can be trusted to give accurate information and conscientious advice, and put the responsibility on them and then accept their judgment. It is a mistake to suppose that the party leaders are not capable of being extremely useful as means of intelligence. A party is a living being, having all the organs of eyes, ears, and feelings. No man can rise to leadership without having some qualities of value. The appointing power should not be governed absolutely by local leaders; but should hear them in important cases, cross-examine them, derive all the benefits they are capable of rendering, and not be ambitious of displaying a disregard of them. Distrust of one's friends will generally result in misplaced confidence in inferior persons or ill-advised action. The importance of the little postmasters is very great. In many of the purely rural districts there is one to every hundred voters. They are centres of political activity. They act as agents and canvassers for the newspapers of their party, and as local organizers. The immense power of this influence is now wholly on the side of the Republicans. To allow this state of things to continue is infidelity to the principles and causes of the administration. The wrong should be gradually corrected."

Only a few months before his death, consistent to the last, he is urging the President to promote a Democratic general, in order that the party may have its due representation in the army.

Bigelow, in a rather elaborate analysis of Tilden's characteristics as a party leader, says that there were "two principles of leadership upon which he often dwelt in conversation and which were peculiarly his own. One was a generous recognition of the part which the imagination exercises upon the tidal ebbs and flows of public opinion, and the other was the importance of keeping his party constantly in the presence of the enemy." Contemporary observers, friendly and otherwise, all emphasize skill in party management as Tilden's pre-eminent distinction. Blaine, in his ingratiating chronicle, of-

fers the compliment that he "evinced a power of leadership which no man in his party could rival." If it cannot be said of Tilden, as it was of his over-zealous disciple, David B. Hill, that he made politics his god—since the Sage of Grey-stone undoubtedly had more objects of worship than he of Wolfert's Roost—certain it is that politics was one of his most highly revered deities. Probably Burgess's characterization is the fittest that we shall ever have, "not a statesman in the highest sense of the word, nor a demagogue in the lowest sense of that word—a genuine American politician of the first order."<sup>3</sup>

A centennial estimate found Tilden's "chief title to fame" in the fact that "it was given to him to energize the reforming spirit in American politics and to do it at period when conditions were at the worst and the outlook seemed peculiarly gloomy."<sup>4</sup> But was not reform with him more an incident to his party management than a great end in itself, and is not the real significance of his public work to be found rather in his political leadership which so largely contributed to the restoration to a position of equality of one of our major parties? And this was by no means a slight service. Since, as we have come to recognize, two strong organizations are essential to the successful working of our party system, and the continuity of the old organizations by adjustments to new conditions is an important factor in national stability, a leader who could do so much to preserve that condition, albeit more politician than statesman, must be accorded an important factor in national stability, a leader who could do so much to preserve that condition, albeit more politician than statesman, must be accorded an important place in our national annals.

<sup>3</sup> Burgess, *Reconstruction and the Constitution*, 282.

<sup>4</sup> *Nation*, XCVIII, 153-154 (Feb. 12, 1914).

## Reconstruction and Education in South Carolina (concluded)

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For the first time in her history South Carolina now had constitutional and legal provisions for an adequate school system. A state board of education was created, consisting of the thirty-one county school commissioners and the state superintendent, and its various duties were defined. This board took the place of the legislative committee on education of antebellum days. A state text book commission was provided to assist in the introduction of suitable books, which were to be furnished free of charge to those children whose parents neglected or refused to provide them. A superintendent of education was to have general supervision of the system and perform those duties usually required of such an officer. Before the war there had been no executive head of the schools, a defect of the system so generally recognized that it repeatedly called for remedy. Also in each county there was to be elected by popular vote every two years a school commissioner, whose duties were not unlike those of a county superintendent of today. He was to have general supervision of the schools of his county, visit each school at least once a year, and see that "there shall be taught, as far as practicable, orthography, reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, English grammar, history of the United States, the principles of the constitution and laws of the United States and of this state, and good behaviour." He was to select "two suitable and discreet persons, who together with himself" constituted a county board of examiners, to examine and certificate teachers. The counties were to be divided into school districts; and each district was to be under the local control of three trustees, elected by the qualified voters thereof. The duties and powers of these officers were defined. The school year was to begin the first Monday in October and close the last Friday in June; but the county school commissioner had power

to limit this according to the county school fund. Provision was also made for the schools of Charleston.

Superintendent Jillson made his first report in January, 1870, before the school law described above was enacted. He complained that the failure of the legislature to pass a school law at its regular session of 1868-'69 had kept "this department in a state of comparative inactivity for nearly a year. . . . The children and youth of this commonwealth are daily growing up in a state of ignorance . . . a state which leads to poverty and crime. That the general assembly will at this, its present session, . . . perfect and pass a good and wise permanent common school law . . . is a 'consummation devoutly to be wished.'" The report, therefore, covered the work accomplished under the act to provide for the temporary organization of the educational department of the state, which was passed in September, 1868, and is mentioned above. According to this report there were in the state 100,711 colored children of school age and 68,108 white children; but only 8,163 colored and 8,255 white children were enrolled. There were 381 schools with 528 teachers, who were classified as follows: northern white, 73; southern white, 405; northern colored, 6; and southern colored, 44. The male teachers numbered 255 and the female 273.

The schools were supported by a variety of means. Less than \$40,000 was expended by the state in 1869 for public school support. But by tuition fees and other means many schools were able to continue a short term during this confused period. In St. Helena two schools for colored children were taught on the plantation of a "Southern Loyalist" and were "sustained by him." Frequently the schools expected support "chiefly from the state"; sometimes it came in the form of tuition fees from "parents or guardians," and not infrequently by means of subscriptions from the neighborhood. Philanthropic and religious societies and agencies also assisted. Among these were the Pennsylvania Association of the Freedmen's Bureau, The American Missionary Association, The Southern Educational Association of St. Louis, The New England Freedmen's Union Mission, The Presbyterian Committee of Home Missions of New York, The Protestant

Episcopal Home Missionary Society, The Methodist Episcopal Church, The United States Direct Tax Commission, The New England Freedmen's Aid Society, The Friends' Society of Philadelphia, The Old-School Presbyterian Committee of Home Missions of New York, and others. In most cases these agencies confined their attention to schools for the negroes. Churches, private residences, stores, and other kinds of houses were employed as school houses.

By June, 1870, there appeared a substantial increase in school attendance. The school population numbered 197,000, of whom about 115,000 were colored and 82,000 white, and about 30,000 of both races were in school. There were reported 769 schools and 734 teachers; and about 630 of the schools were supported wholly or in part by public funds. The Peabody Fund was giving some assistance, though its work in South Carolina had not yet become so extensive as in some of the other southern states.

Many difficulties confronted the system from the outset. Inexperience of school officers, lack of suitable houses, scarcity of good teachers, indifference and impatience of the people, a natural opposition to the new system, insufficient school support, the fear of mixed schools, and defective legislation were some of the more persistent obstacles. In most instances the school officers entered upon their duties with little or no experience to aid them in their duties and only a few of the school houses were the property of the state, and many of those in use were "most miserable affairs, entirely destitute of even the most rude and simple comforts and conveniences of a modern school room." The superintendent urged legislative authority to enable local committees to raise funds to remedy this defect.

The employment of inefficient and incompetent teachers was an evil perhaps more keenly felt than any other, and this condition persisted throughout the reconstruction period and even later. "Probably no state in the Union is so cursed with poor teachers as South Carolina," said the superintendent. Native white teachers reluctantly assumed charge of schools, native colored teachers as a class were almost wholly incompetent, and it was equally difficult to secure teachers

from abroad. The evil was believed to be partly the fault of the county boards of examiners who granted certificates to persons "whose ignorance was glaringly apparent to the most careless observer." Moreover, the small salary received and uncertainty in its payment decreased the number of the better class of teachers. And the unfulfilled promises of the legislature to pay the school appropriations closed many of the schools in 1872. Public confidence was betrayed. Often teachers were unable to obtain their salaries on presentation of their certificates to the county treasurers. In many cases the teachers were forced to dispose of their certificates at "unreasonable and oppressive rates of discount to other parties who are doubtless either in collusion with or in the interest or employ of, sharks and shavers connected directly or indirectly with the county treasury."<sup>11</sup>

Other school officials likewise showed incompetence and unfitness for their duties. In not a few cases the school commissioners and local trustees were grossly incompetent, without any qualifications for the positions. The following papers written by a county school commissioner and a school trustee, respectively, will illustrate a condition more or less prevalent throughout the period:<sup>12</sup>

COUNTY SCHOOL COMMISSIONER'S OFFICE  
RICHLAND COUNTY

COLUMBIA, S. C., Sept. the 27 1871

The foller ring name person are Rickermended to the Boarde for the Hower [Howard (?)] Schoole Haveing Given fool satesfact Shon in thi tow Last years.  
the whit Shool.

Mr. . . . Please give to the Barrow for mee Dick Kenedey one plug of toBaco and a Bar of Soape i am Bussey my self trying to get a Bale of Cooton to you or i would acome.

The superintendent complained from time to time of the natural apathy and impatience of the people throughout the state. Some appeared "sadly indifferent concerning educational matters, not caring whether 'school keeps or not.'"

<sup>11</sup> *Report, Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1874, p. 77; Proceedings, Feabody Board Trustees, Vol. 1, pp. 248, 363, 364, 416, 417.*

<sup>12</sup> Reynolds, *Reconstruction in South Carolina.*



The people seemed impatient because the advantages of the system did not immediately appear throughout the entire state. Moreover, opposition to the new system developed because of the cost of maintaining it. The theory that education is a matter for the individual or the family and not for the state was widely accepted in South Carolina before the war, and the effects of this philosophy were difficult to overcome.

Throughout the period the schools were in great need of funds. Although the constitution was clear on the subject of state support, providing for the entire capitation tax to be applied to this purpose, the poll tax soon appeared to be a very unreliable source of school revenue. Moreover, the constitution required the general assembly to lay a property tax for school support. But the legislature was slow and it was not until 1873 that such a tax was levied, and until that time the sole state support of education was from the poll taxes and the annual legislative appropriations.

The reconstruction régime has been credited with extraordinary interest in education by reason of these legislative appropriations.<sup>13</sup> The general assemblies did indeed appear liberal and wise in this matter; but in most of the southern states, especially in South Carolina, these appropriations seem not to have been paid fully or even in large part. South Carolina will serve as an example of this apparent liberality on the one hand, and indifference or inability to make good its promises on the other. From 1869 to 1876 the following appropriations for schools, "in addition to the capitation tax," appear:

1869 .....	\$ 50,000
1870 .....	50,000
1871 .....	190,000
1872 .....	375,000
1873 .....	300,000
1874 .....	300,000
1875 .....	240,000
1876 .....	250,000
Total .....	\$1,755,000

<sup>13</sup> "One of the largest items in the budgets of reconstruction was for schools." Dunning, *Reconstruction Political and Economic*, p. 206.

For the same years the following sums were paid for free school support:

1869 .....	\$ 39,023.81
1870 .....	111,369.91
1871 .....	164,485.66
1872 .....	128,442.93
1873 .....	361,101.37
1874 .....	298,440.91
1875 .....	321,752.70
1876 .....	208,489.11
Total .....	\$1,633,106.40

A conservative estimate of the average annual taxable polls of the state for these years is about 150,000. In 1870 about 136,608 votes were cast for governor and about 149,236 in 1874. But many people refused to vote during these years. In 1872 as many as 40,000 refused to vote.<sup>14</sup> So, approximately the sum of \$1,200,000 from capitation taxes should have been available for school support during these years. Moreover, after 1873 a property tax of two mills on the dollar was also levied for educational purpose. If state support of schools came from the combined sources of the capitation taxes and appropriations, the schools were entitled to receive fully as much as \$1,321,000 more than they actually received from 1869 to 1876,—the capitation taxes, plus the appropriations, less the amounts actually paid by the state treasury. If the capitation taxes were not collected in full, but the appropriations were paid, the schools should have received \$120,000 more than they actually received,—the appropriations, less the amounts actually paid by the state treasury. If the capitation taxes were collected, then less than \$500,000 of the legislative appropriations for school support was paid,—the amounts actually paid by the state treasury, less the capitation taxes.

The matter may be viewed from the following table, which does not regard the property tax levy for schools:

<sup>14</sup> *Journals of House and Senate; Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1870, p. 682; Reynolds, *op. cit.*, pp. 93, 155, 226.

# RECONSTRUCTION AND EDUCATION IN SOUTH CAROLINA 61

Year	Approp.	Poll Tax <sup>28</sup>	Total	Pd. for Sch'ls.	Deficit
1869 .....	\$ 50,000	\$ 150,000	\$ 200,000	\$ 39,023.81	\$ 160,976.19
1870 .....	50,000	150,000	200,000	111,369.91	88,630.09
1871 .....	190,000	150,000	340,000	164,485.66	175,514.34
1872 .....	375,000	150,000	525,000	128,442.93	396,557.07
1873 .....	300,000	150,000	450,000	361,101.37	88,898.63
1874 .....	300,000	150,000	450,000	298,440.91	151,559.09
1875 .....	240,000	150,000	390,000	321,752.70	68,247.30
1876 .....	250,000	150,000	400,000	208,489.11	191,510.08
Total ....	\$1,755,000	\$1,200,000	\$2,955,000	\$1,633,106.40	\$1,321,892.79

The presence and influence of the negro in political, educational and social affairs also complicated an otherwise unhappy condition. Just how far the promoters of mixed school legislation expected it to extend is a matter for conjecture, but that it was perhaps the most unwise action of the period is a certainty, lending itself to a most unfortunate and damaging reaction for many years after the return to home rule. The principal objection raised to the school system during this time arose from the fear of mixed schools, a provision which was not demanded by either race. On the contrary, both races were violently opposed to the scheme and the friends of the schools constantly urged the adoption of separate schools. But the agitation in Congress of the Civil Rights Bill in 1872 had here, as in other southern states, the effect of aggravating a prejudice which had begun to develop with the state constitutional provision for mixed schools. The damaging effect of the policy can be seen in the case of the university, known before the war as the South Carolina College.

This institution had a very creditable career and an extensive influence from 1801, when it was chartered, until the war, when it was severely crippled. After political conditions began to adjust themselves the institution was re-opened; but a radical change in the personnel of its trustees in 1869 and the admission of negro students so increased distrust and apprehension that most of the white students left. In 1873, when the state normal school was organized, it was located in one of the university buildings. The university professors were required to lecture to the normal students, the majority of whom were negroes. The university library was also to

<sup>28</sup> Poll Tax estimated.

be used by the normal school. Until this time the negroes had made but few attempts to avail themselves of the privileges of the university, though there were grave apprehensions that the policy of the dominant party would jeopardize its usefulness.

In 1873 Henry E. Hayne, the negro secretary of state, entered the school of medicine. Though "neither vindictive nor aggressive" he had aroused a prejudice among the white people two years before by going to a communion table at a mission church. The incident created such a sensation that the mission was finally suspended. When he registered in the university three members of the faculty resigned. In accepting the resignations the trustees announced their pleasure that "a spirit so hostile to the welfare of our state . . . will not longer be represented in the university, which is the common property of all our citizens without distinction of race." Negroes now entered the institution in large numbers, among them the negro treasurer of the state, F. L. Cardozo, and other adults. In a short time nearly nine-tenths of the students, numbering 200, were negroes. In 1877 the institution closed to open again three years later as the College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts.<sup>16</sup>

Defects in the school law, which was made hurriedly by legislators who had little knowledge of conditions for which they were providing, were other obstacles which continued throughout the reconstruction period. Lack of adequate authority for cities, towns and local districts to raise special taxes for educational purposes was most keenly felt. Adequate provision for training and certificating teachers was also greatly needed, as well as provisions for a more business-like and safe administration of the school system. Complaints were constantly made against the lax methods of handling school finances,—a complaint universal in the South during these years. The collection of the poll tax was loosely conducted, frequently only those who had taxable property being forced to pay it. As noted above, failure to pay this tax did not disfranchise, constitutional provision having been made on this point. This provision served practically to exempt the

<sup>16</sup> Reynolds, *op. cit.*, pp. 231 ff.

negroes from this tax because they had very little taxable property.

It should be remembered that during this period the state was not under home rule, and that there was little chance for native white leadership in political or educational effort. Moreover, the state was pitifully bankrupt. The legislature was composed largely of illiterate negroes, local political puppets, and designing political demagogues, whose policy was one of stolid opposition to conservative white leadership. Flagrant bribery schemes were common, political positions were bought and sold as common commodities, and fraud and extravagance created enormous debts, constituting a colossal reproach to the state. These abnormal and irregular conditions naturally reached the school system and made it "worse than a failure."

In spite of conditions, however, the schools began with a comparatively efficient superintendent. The ability with which Jillson exacted more or less perfect school statistics from many of the local school officers, and the force with which he used these facts in an effort to promote improved educational conditions, are not an uncomplimentary commentary on his work. Not infrequently did his recommendations later reveal themselves in laws, even though such laws were not always enforced. Acts to prevent the shameful discount of teachers' salaries, to levy a property tax for free school support, to establish a normal school, and to enforce the payment of poll taxes were repeatedly insisted on in his annual reports. In order to secure the unpaid balances of past educational appropriations from the legislature, he recommended in 1875 that county treasurers be authorized to retain out of all the funds collected by them sufficient sums to cover the county apportionment of the state school fund.<sup>17</sup> Moreover, he advised a law which would deprive counties of their state apportionment if they did not undertake local taxation to help themselves, but such an act would have required a constitutional amendment.

From 1871 until 1876 a slight improvement in results appeared. In 1871 the school population was 206,000, of whom

<sup>17</sup> It is interesting to note that similar action was advised in Virginia during this period.

123,000 were colored and 83,000 were white. The enrollment for that year showed 33,834 colored and 32,222 white children in 1,639 schools, taught by 1,898 teachers. The following year 38,000 colored and 37,000 white children were enrolled, and the number of schools had increased nearly 300. In 1873 there were about 145,000 colored and 85,000 white children of school age, with an enrollment of approximately 46,000 and 38,000 respectively. The schools numbered 2,017 and the teachers 2,374. The returns from twenty-nine counties placed the average school term at nearly five months. The total state support of free schools was about \$361,000. In 1874 there were 56,000 colored and 44,000 white children reported enrolled in the schools. Of the 2,228 school houses in the state, only 595 were owned by the districts. The following year the school population showed 153,000 colored and 85,000 white children in the state with an enrollment of 63,000 and 41,000, respectively. The schools now numbered 2,500 and the teachers 2,800. In 1876 the enrollment showed 70,000 colored and 52,000 white children in 2,700 schools taught by 3,000 teachers. The average term was four and a half months.

The work of the Peabody Board had some influence in stimulating local educational effort during these years, though it failed to receive the encouragement and coöperation which it deserved. Conditions, however, were not so favorable to this work as they were in some other southern states. Some of these conditions were those which delayed educational progress in general and have already been noted; others were found in the frequent failure of the people to accept the conditions and methods of the Peabody appropriations. The bounty served, however, a very useful purpose, and its influence has extended even to very late years.

As late as 1877 the schools were reported poorly taught and of short term. The school population consisted of 144,000 colored and 83,000 white children, with an attendance of 55,000 colored and 46,000 white—a decrease of about 20,000 from the previous year. The number of public schools reported was 2,483, which was a decrease of nearly 300 from the year before. The reports showed the employment of 2,674 teachers, nearly 400 less than the number employed the pre-

vious year. The school term averaged only three months. The average monthly salary paid teachers was about \$28 for men and \$26 for women.

Throughout the entire period of reconstruction slight effort was made to provide facilities for the training of teachers, but a few institutes and educational conventions were held in some of the counties. The first of these was held at Nazareth Church in Spartanburg County, August 5 and 6, 1870, and was attended by thirty teachers. The organization was made permanent under the name of "The Teachers' Convention of Spartanburg County." In 1871 institutes were held in the counties of Greenville, Orangeburg, and Spartanburg. The following year three institutes were held in Barnwell County, three in Lexington County, and one in Spartanburg County. In 1873 institutes were reported in Barnwell and Pickens. Barnwell, Chester, Fairfield, Georgetown, Laurens, Lexington, Spartanburg, and York reported institutes in 1874; Barnwell, Georgetown, Laurens, Oconee, and Spartanburg in 1875; and Aiken, Barnwell, Fairfield, and Spartanburg in 1876; and a state normal school was established in 1873 for the purpose of training teachers.

In some respects the reconstruction period marked an educational advancement in South Carolina, where notable improvement in constitutional and legal provisions for schools appeared. No constitutional provisions for education, and only permissive legislative provisions on the subject, existed before the war; by the constitution of 1868 and the law of 1870, however, mandatory provisions were made for schools. For the first time in the history of South Carolina provision was made for state supervision. A decided step forward was also made in the matter of school support. Before the war the schools were supported by annual legislative appropriations which, though more or less liberal, were not always judiciously and equitably apportioned, and this practice resulted in considerable waste. Provision for school support was made by a system of uniform taxation under the law of 1870. Only little improvement in local supervision was made, however, by the reconstruction régime; and local school officers were probably no less efficient before 1860 than between 1868 and

1876. During both periods complaints were chronic against the indifference and inefficiency of the officers. The schools of the ante-bellum period were nominally open to all the white children of the State. Preference, however, was given to the poor. The custom of entering indigent children in private or community schools and of paying a per diem for their instruction was popular here as well as in other southern states, especially Virginia, and the ante-bellum schools of South Carolina thus sank early into pauper institutions. It does not appear that those children who were educated at public expense in South Carolina before 1860 ever exceeded 20,000 in any one year.

The reconstruction period was, therefore, not without some valuable educational effect in South Carolina, but the good educational features which appeared at that time were born out of misfortune. Public confidence had been weakened by widespread fraud and extravagance, by the incompetence of teachers and school officials, and by the failure of the state to make good the fair promises which had been made in behalf of public schools. It was many years, therefore, before confidence could be restored and the principle of universal and free education could gather sufficient strength to give it wide acceptance and popular approval. Here, as in the other southern states, it has been difficult to recover from the ills inherited from the reconstruction practices following the close of the Civil War, and here, as elsewhere in that region, the stigma and the reproach of the indignities and the injustices of that period have been a deadly upas to the cause of public education. Only in recent years has recuperation been rapid enough to assure promise of a better day in public education.



## Rossetti Studies—Fundamental Brainwork\*

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"I shut myself in with my soul,  
And the shapes come eddying forth."  
(Fragment.)

"Conception . . . Fundamental Brainwork, that is what makes the difference in art. Work your metal as much as you like, but first take care that it is gold and worth working." So wrote Rossetti; and by brainwork he meant that content of lyrical thought or mood which is susceptible of being shaped into poetry.

The laws of physics and architecture cannot in themselves make a building—there must also be the granite; and brainwork must be the structural stuff—the granite—out of which poetry is to be wrought.

We are forever talking of *great* art, *great* music, *great* poetry, not knowing quite what we mean by great, nor ever quite agreeing as to what is great. That we should not agree is both natural and fortunate, for what appeals to you may leave me unmoved; yet I suspect that what we most often mean when we say that this or that work of art is *great*, is that we find it well laden with fundamental brainwork. It is this quality which will wear best and longest; and therefore as our taste and understanding develop we gradually leave behind us those artists whose beauties were trivial and external, and take ultimate refuge there where Beauty is large and deep. In the end it is spiritual elbow-room which we need and seek, and the poet who can give it to us is sure of a niche in our hearts.

A charge commonly brought against Rossetti is that he is difficult reading; but the only ground that I can possibly find for the difficulty is this: he has solidity and core. We are like children, who, if they could, would disregard the substantial part of their fare and eat only sweetmeats; we dislike and avoid whatever is solid in our mental food. Now the accusa-

\* The third of a series of articles on Rossetti. Previous numbers were published in the *QUARTERLY* for July and October, 1919.

tion, if accusation is the name for it, which can really be brought against Rossetti is that he is *concentrated*; but instead of condemning, we should praise him for it, and should be genuinely thankful that at least one poet has striven to give us pure gold; thankful that within one small volume can be contained all that he did.

To say that Rossetti's public is restricted because of his narrow range would be specious. In his own chosen plot—that relation of man and woman which we call love—his position is unique; and that in itself should be an earnest for a large hearing. The simple truth is, since the truth must be told, that he is too full of thought to appeal to the many. "One benefit I do derive as a result of my method of composition; my work becomes condensed. Probably the man does not live who could write what I have written more briefly than I have done." And it is precisely because his work is so condensed that Rossetti's readers are not numerous; but, since he cared little for the suffrage of the public, why should we who love him care any more? The true artist cannot be concerned with prostituting his talents to an indiscriminating public; if he wins a hearing that is purely incidental: his sole duty is with himself, with beauty, and with his best possible interpretation of her.

I have spoken of *brainwork* as being a poem's content of lyrical thought or mood. Now let us see how Rossetti exemplifies this definition. Let us take first this sonnet in which the content is lyrical thought. Excellent as the poem is in itself, and indubitably stamped as Rossetti's by the imaginative quality of the sestet, it is not as peculiarly his as are the poems expressive of a mood.

"Think thou and act; tomorrow thou shalt die.  
Outstretched in the sun's warmth upon the shore,  
Thou say'st: 'Man's measured path is all gone o'er;  
Up all his years, steeply, with strain and sigh,  
Man clomb until he touched the truth; and I  
Even I, am he whom it was destined for.'  
How should this be? Art thou then so much more  
Than they who sowed, that thou shouldst reap thereby?

Nay, come up hither. From this wave-washed mound  
 Unto the furthest flood-brim look with me;  
 Then reach on with thy thought till it be drowned.  
 Miles and miles distant though the last line be,  
 And though thy soul sail leagues and leagues beyond,—  
 Still, leagues beyond those leagues, there is more sea."

Now turn to a poem of which the content is lyrical mood. Spinoza speaks of emotions as being thoughts too obscure and ill-defined to become articulate; and it is in his ability to make intelligible to us emotions and moods so fine and so elusive that they escape most of us completely, that Rossetti is unmatched. Others can grapple with concepts and ideas, but no poet of whom I am aware can make an abstract mood concrete as he can. See how, in this magnificent sonnet, he renders articulate emotions roused by music heard, emotions which in most mortals can evoke nothing but silence; not that we would not speak, but that we could not if we would.

"Is it the moved air or the moving sound  
 That is Life's self and draws my life from me,  
 And by instinct ineffable decree  
 Holds my breath quailing on the bitter bound?  
 Nay, is it Life or Death, thus thunder-crowned,  
 That mid the tide of all emergency  
 Now notes my separate wave, and to what sea  
 Its difficult eddies labor in the ground?"

Oh! what is this that knows the road I came,  
 The flame turned cloud, the cloud returned to flame,  
 The lifted shifted steeps and all the way?—  
 That draws round me at last this wind-warm space,  
 And in regenerate rapture turns my face  
 Upon the devious coverts of dismay?"

Imagination, atmosphere, and magic, all are closely allied in Rossetti, and whether occurring separately or in combination they make up a large proportion of the content of his poems. Imagination was one of his greatest gifts, and he trod in its ways with as sure a step as that with which most mortals walk their city streets. From the fact that he lived so entirely for and within his art, and from constant association with early Italian poetry and painting and with Old French literature, it was only natural that he should have been en-

amored of things mediaeval. It is in this effort to construct for himself an environment out of the past that he may be called an anachronism; and that he succeeded in no small measure was thanks to his imagination. Hall Caine tells us that, on the occasion of his first visit to Rossetti, after having spent the night amid censers, sacramental cups, and a host of other mediaeval objects, it was with a sense of relief that he greeted the out-of-doors again. As he puts it "outside the air breathed freely."

There is often an element of surprise in Rossetti's imaginative flights; and however wide the sweep of his wings the flight is shorn of whatever might seem fantastic or grotesque by the flashes of verisimilitude which give a sense of reality to what is purely imaginative.

Taking *The Blessed Damosel* as the point of departure in Rossetti's career as a poet, we find him equipped with a splendid technique, and with an imagination which he himself never surpassed. Certain passages from this poem have been so often used to illustrate his imaginative powers, that it would be trite to cite them here were it not that I hope to show how well the poet succeeded in lending a sense of reality to them.

If we take out of their context, as is so often done, the verses which tell that from the bar on which she leaned the damosel was

"So high, that looking downward thence,  
She scarce could see the sun,"

there is a feeling of hanging in the air; but if we give those verses their place in the stanza which contains them, we realize a sense of satisfaction that

"It was the rampart of God's house  
That she was standing on,"

and the "rampart of God's house" affords a base from which the imagination may move with surer foot and wing. And what the "rampart" does for this stanza, the "bridge" does for the next. It is from the "bridge" as a starting point that

"this earth  
Spins like a fretful midge."

It is with just such bits of verisimilitude that, throughout his work, Rossetti gives to his imaginative flights a sense of reality and truth which makes them the more startling and the more overwhelming.

There are times too when his imagination takes a turn which is more subtle, more elusive, and often very poignant. In *The Blessed Damosel* the poet is telling that to the maiden it seems as if she had been in heaven but a single day, while in reality she had been there for ten years; and

“(To one, it is ten years of years,  
 . . . Yet now, and in this place,  
 Surely she leaned o’er me—her hair  
 Fell all about my face . . .  
*Nothing: the autumn fall of leaves.*  
 The whole year sets apace.)”

Here the starting point of the flight is “the autumn fall of leaves;” but this time the effect is more vague, and, perhaps for that very reason, more poignant, and gives the feeling of half-remembered music or of the sound of a bell caught in the wind’s lull so indistinctly as to make one wonder whether it is real or imagined. There is the feeling too of being brought face to face with an occult revelation. At sight and sound of the falling leaves, the poet suddenly beholds a casement flung open in the blue dome of God’s house and the magnificent dream flashes upon his inner eye.

Something of the same feeling is conveyed by the last verse of this stanza of *The Staff and Scrip*, in which the queen is described as placing above her bed the staff and scrip of the knight whom she had loved and who had given his life for her.

“That night they hung above her bed,  
 Till morning wet with tears.  
 Year after year above her head  
 Her bed his token wears,  
*Five years, ten years.”*

What long years are these—years of yearning and of patient hope, intolerable years, did they not hold out the promise of ultimate solace and peace. Yet only the supreme artist, the artist who takes into account his readers’ as well as his own

imagination could have achieved the effect which we get here. A lesser poet would have given us a detailed description of those years, but Rossetti knew that he could best make us know of them by leaving them to us. Such passages are numerous indeed, but I must content myself with the two following; from *The Love-Letter*,

"And her breast's secrets peered into her breast"

and from *The Birth Bond*,

"O born with me somewhere that men forget."

The suggestiveness of such a verse as this last cannot be compassed quite, but resembles that of the alluring vistas which we catch in certain of Rossetti's paintings, vistas of distant fairylands seen through an open window or door.

There is a convincing quality in Rossetti's imagination, due, sometimes to the skillful intermixture of verisimilitude, as has already been pointed out, and often to the underlying matter of sense experience. The purely fanciful does not enter in; what the poet sees, he sees not only as the thing in itself, but also as that of which it is capable. Herein lies the power of the creative artist. Looking off to sea on a day of "heat fogs" the poet notices that the sky-line is lost and that sea and sky seem to rise as a single wall. Out of that visual experience he spins this imaginative web, strikingly imaginative, yet wholly tangent with the initial experience and shaping its wings of the very stuff of other common human experience, the sight of flies dropping from a wall as they die.

"But the sea stands spread  
As one wall with the flat skies,  
Where lean black craft like flies  
Seem well-nigh stagnated,  
Soon to drop off dead."

This takes us naturally enough to a consideration of the imaginative element in Rossetti's figures of speech, that element which because of its profusion is sometimes distracting, but into which is condensed so much of what the poet had to say. Original, surely, is this from *The Portrait*, though not distracting; and in its calm and melancholy beauty, unsurpassed:

"Here with her face doth memory sit  
 Meanwhile, and wait the day's decline,  
 Till other eyes shall look from it,  
 Eyes of the spirit's Palestine,  
 Even than the old gaze tenderer:  
 While hopes and aims long lost with her  
 Stand round her image side by side,  
*Like tombs of pilgrims that have died  
 About the Holy Sepulchre.*"

From *Rose Mary* is a beautiful but much less striking bit,

"Slowly fades the sun from the wall  
 Till day lies dead on the sundial."

The same poem contains this:

"The hours and minutes seemed to whirl  
 In a clanging swarm that deafened her."

Reminiscent, perhaps, of the appearance of the angel in the opening of canto II of the *Purgatorio* is this couplet from *The White Ship*:

"At last the morning rose on the sea  
 Like an angel's wing that beat tow'rds me."

In *The Dark Glass*, love is characterized as being

"the last relay  
 And ultimate outpost of eternity"

while the lover, as compared with Love, is

"One murmuring shell he gathers from the sand,  
 One little heart-flame sheltered in his hand."

And here, in *The One Hope*, we have one of those flights, so novel and yet so satisfying, which Rossetti alone could have achieved:

"Shall Peace be still a sunk stream long unmet?"

There are two factors of Rossetti's writings of which one must speak here, for they are so largely the product of his imagination: I mean his magic and his atmosphere. He was exceedingly fond of the ghostly and supernatural; and for magic, he admired Keats, and thought Coleridge one of the greatest of English poets. In the beautiful prose tale which he has left us—*Hand and Soul*<sup>1</sup>—he describes a young artist as

<sup>1</sup> Such writing as *Hand and Soul* will be denied the name "poetry" only by those who demand that poetry be in verse.





'They've caught her to Westholm's saddle-bow,  
                     Sister Helen,  
 And her moonlit hair gleams white in its flow.'  
 'Let it turn whiter than winter snow,  
                     Little brother!'  
                     (O Mother, Mary Mother,  
 Woe-withered gold, between Hell and Heaven!)"

And when the wax image is entirely consumed and the lover's lost soul is borne by on the wind, the force of the witchcraft is spent and Helen emerges from witch to woman only to realize that all is lost, even her own soul.

"'Ah! what white thing at the door has cross'd,  
                     Sister Helen,  
 Ah! what is this that sighs in the frost?'  
 'A soul that's lost as mine is lost,  
                     Little brother!'  
                     (O Mother, Mary Mother,  
 Lost, lost, all lost, between Hell and Heaven!)"

In *Rose Mary* and *Eden Bower* the effect is attained, in the first case through the struggle of the girl against the spirits of evil contained in the beryl-stone, and in the latter poem by the yielding of Lilith to the snake element in her nature. The notes for the proposed poems, *Michael Scott's Wooing* and *The Orchard Pit*, show that magic was to be the key-note of both. 'Tis a pity that they were never written. The few stanzas which we have of *The Orchard Pit* make us know something of what we have missed, and show clearly what the tone of the poem would have been. Take these as illustrative.

"Piled deep below the screening apple-branch  
 They lie with bitter apples in their hands;  
 And some are only ancient bones that blanch,  
 And some had ships that last year's wind did launch,  
 And some were yesterday the lords of lands.

In the soft dell, among the apple-trees,  
 High up above the pit she stands,  
 And there forever sings, who gave to these,  
 That lie below, her magic hour of ease,  
 And those her apples holden in their hands.

This in my dreams is shown me; and her hair  
 Crosses my lips and draws my burning breath;  
 Her song spreads golden wings upon the air,  
 Life's hues are gleaming from her forehead fair,  
 And from her breasts the ravishing eyes of Death."

Magic is a note to which Rossetti returns again and again, and we may find many snatches of it throughout his poems. This from *The Bride's Prelude* is unusually fine.

"I woke at midnight, cold and dazed;  
 Because I found myself  
 Seated upright, with bosom bare,  
 Upon my bed, combing my hair,  
 Ready to go, I knew not where."

That surely gives one the right thrill and throws open to the imagination the avenues of wonderland! Here is another bit—this time from *The Portrait*—which suggests the painting entitled *How They Met Themselves*. This picture is of two lovers, who, walking by night in a grove, are warned of impending death by suddenly meeting face to face the ghosts of themselves.

"a covert place  
 Where you might think to find a din  
 Of doubtful talk and a live flame  
 Wandering, and many a shape whose name  
 Not itself knoweth, and old dew,  
 And your own footsteps meeting you,  
 And all things going as they came."

Magic and atmosphere are often very much at one; but perhaps we may say, though only in a general way, that magic has to do with the struggle of the individual against some elusive and occult power, while atmosphere is the reflection of the state of a soul, on exterior things.

None surely of the longer poems is more the product of atmosphere than *The Bride's Prelude*; and with that fact in mind, we may do well to examine the poem at some length. Just how Rossetti would have ended the poem, which was left fragmentary, it might be hard to say;<sup>2</sup> but the clouds which have been gathering are surely storm-clouds, and the

<sup>2</sup> He has left a prose sketch of a proposed ending; but how the finished poem would have compared with this sketch is impossible to tell.

lightning flashes and the thunder groans. The situation becomes increasingly tense, and the crisis, had it come, must needs have been sudden and violent. The Bride is about to be married to the man who had seduced and forsaken her, the man who had caused her such anguish that her child had been still-born, the man whom she has learned to hate and who has come back to marry her only for his own advantage. Before the wedding takes place the Bride feels that she must unbosom herself of her unhappy past to her sister who is just back from a convent and quite ignorant of the misfortune which had befallen the Bride. The distress of these two girls,—of the one because she must confess, of the other because she must hear what costs so much to confess,—is tenseness itself; and of this we are made aware, not by being told so in so many words, but by finding it reflected in their reaction to their surroundings and in the correspondence of those surroundings with their own inner selves.

"'Sister,' said busy Amelotte  
To listless Aloyse;  
'Along your wedding road the wheat  
Bends as to hear your horse's feet,  
And the noonday stands still for heat.'"

In this very first stanza, we already know something, and it is a considerable something of these women, simply because the one is "busy" and the other "listless." And how much the listlessness of Aloyse is heightened by the wheat's bending to hear her horse's feet, and by the noonday's standing still for heat! And here is a splendid glimpse into the nature of the sister to whom the bride felt she must confess. Among other objects is

"A slim-curved lute, which now,  
At Amelotte's sudden passing there,  
Was swept in somehow unaware,  
And shook to music the close air."

How could the Bride keep a secret from the girl at whose mere passing the lute-strings are stirred? And it is not because Amelotte is an inquisitive newsgatherer, but only because she is strong and of a largeness of sympathy which unwittingly elicits confidence. The noonday heat is oppressive;

but see how much more oppressive it becomes because the heart-sick Bride projects herself upon it!

"Beneath the drooping brows, the stir  
Of thought made noonday heavier.

Long sat she silent; and then raised  
Her head, with such a gasp  
As while she summoned breath to speak  
Fanned high that furnace in the cheek  
But sucked the heart-pulse cold and weak."

And see how her sad heart has colored the past seasons of her youth.

"(Oh gather round her now, all ye  
Past seasons of her fear,—  
Sick springs, and summers deadly cold!  
To flight your hovering wings unfold,  
For now your secret shall be told.

Ye many sunlights, barbed with darts  
Of dread detecting flame,—  
Gaunt moonlights that like sentinels  
Went past with iron clank of bells,—  
Draw round and render up your spells!)"

The Bride is about to speak, and is summoning all possible courage, but the silence itself weighs upon her and only renders her agony more acute. That moment is one of those in which seconds seem like minutes and minutes like hours, a subtle and awesome moment in which the scales are turned by a bird's song. The string cannot be tightened any more: either it is attuned or it must break.

"A bird had out its song and ceased  
Ere the Bride spoke."

To make her sister's confession less painful, Amelotte avoids looking at her and conceals her own face in her hands. How intent she is upon hearing is reflected in her immobility.

"The bride took breath to pause; and turned  
Her gaze where Amelotte  
Knelt,—the gold hair upon her back  
Quite still in all its threads,—the track  
Of her still shadow sharp and black."

To listen to such a tale would in itself have been trying enough, but to listen without being able to see the speaker and to wait through the pauses was well-nigh terror.

"That listening without sight had grown  
To stealthy dread; and now  
That the one sound she had to mark  
Left her alone too, she was stark  
Afraid, as children in the dark.

Her fingers felt her temples beat:  
Then came that brain-sickness  
*Which thinks to scream and murmur*  
And pent between her hands the breath  
Was damp against her face like death."

Shame is a denizen of dark recesses and flees before sunshine as Satan is said to do at sight of a cross.

"Where Amelotte was sitting, all  
The light and warmth of day  
Were so upon her without shade,  
That the thing seemed by sunshine made  
Most foul and wanton to be said."

And once more we know how stilly and oppressive this noonday is.

"Through the bride's lattice there crept in  
At whiles (from where the train  
Of minstrels, till the marriage-call,  
Loitered at window of the wall,  
Stray lute-notes, sweet and musical.

They clung in the green growths and moss  
Against the outside stone;  
Low like dirge-wail or requiem  
They murmured, lost 'twixt leaf and stem:  
There was no wind to carry them."

We need not stop for illustrations of his atmosphere from others of Rossetti's poems: *The Bride's Prelude* has afforded us a sufficient store. And this atmosphere we have seen to be a subtle tone by which we may know a mood, for example, without being told of it. It is an analysis or presentation of the mood's reflection rather than of the mood itself.

I have hinted before at Rossetti's power to depict emotions.

It is a unique note with him and one of his most characteristic. Moods are so much a part of him, so vital and keen a part of him, that he can articulate them perfectly. And the very fact that, in his painting, as in his poetry, he was forever concerned with the picturing of moods, made for that clearness and precision of presentation which are peculiar to him. Mood with him meant the soul become articulate, the soul reaching out to "the ultimate outpost of eternity;" and Art could not be the expression of anything less. That is why his achievement is at so high a level: it is the interpretation of ecstasy; nay, it is ecstasy itself. And because ecstasy is momentary and must be caught in a breath, the lyric is its proper instrument, and Rossetti a lyric poet. His language may not always be spontaneous, in fact it rarely is; yet his inspiration is not only spontaneous, but deep-rooted and authentic; and the best possible proof of it is to be found in the large number of excellent sonnets which he has written. When one has molded his initial impulse into a good sonnet and a good poem, the core of his inspiration must indeed have been large to withstand the shaping which the form has imposed upon it. So form, by the way, may be, among other things, an excellent acid with which the poet can try out his substance.

Mood is the stuff of poetry as action is of drama or clear sequence of logic; and it is mood which we have in the "perfect grief" of *The Woodspurge*, the listlessness of *Autumn Idleness*, the intense yearning of *Broken Music*, the despair of *Lost on Both Sides*, and in the bulk of what Rossetti has left us. And as those conflicting hopes which, in their quest for peace, only frustrate one another, so will the writers who heed other voices than those of the moods, fall short of their goal—Poetry, wander aimlessly,

"and wind among  
Its bye-streets, knocking at the dusty inns."

## BOOK REVIEWS

THEODORE ROOSEVELT. By William Roscoe Thayer. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1919—xiii, 454 pp.

No doubt it is much too early yet to hope for a complete biography of Theodore Roosevelt,—complete in the sense in which Morley's *Gladstone*, or even Thayer's *Hay* is complete. Perhaps it is too early to expect even a reasonably unprejudiced, judicial sketch of the man. Thayer's *Roosevelt* is not a complete biography, neither is it a judicial sketch. From cover to cover it is pro-Roosevelt; from cover to cover it is the Roosevelt of Roosevelt's appreciative autobiography or of Thayer's admiring eyes, not the Roosevelt measured by his own acts assessed by universal standards.

One chapter of twenty-two pages Mr. Thayer indeed devotes to "Hits and Misses," and of this chapter nine pages give the sum total of the "Misses." Roosevelt was tactically in error on the occasion of his luncheon with Booker T. Washington; he had mistaken views on the tariff, which he declared familiarly to Mr. Thayer was "only a question of expediency." Throughout the rest of his active life and the remaining four hundred and forty-five pages of the book, he was dead right, first, last, and all the time.

Roosevelt was right when he stayed "regular" in 1884, right when he bolted in 1912; right when he connived at revolution in Panama; right when he declared in 1904 that "under no circumstances will I be a candidate for and accept the nomination for another term," right when in 1912 he was a candidate for and did accept another such nomination. When Mr. La-Follette advocated, in the 1912 campaign, certain measures of popular government, we are told that he "had caught up early some of Bryan's demagogic doctrines." When Roosevelt championed the same, Mr. Thayer explains that "to arrive at social justice was his life-long endeavor," and that "he would rather die in that cause than be victorious in any other." One more bit of casuistry helps to show to what lengths Mr. Thayer goes in providing his hero with garments of perfection. " . . . He took it for granted," we are told, "that

even the strangers who heard him would hold his remarks as confidential. When, therefore, one of his hearers went outside and reported in public what the President had said, Roosevelt disavowed it, and put the babbler in the Ananias class. What a President wishes the public to know, he tells it himself. What he utters in private should, in honor, be held as confidential."

The deplorable part of it is that Theodore Roosevelt needs no such whitewashing as this. Neither the magnitude of his achievements nor the general wholesomeness of his influence on American life can reasonably be denied. Not the most prejudiced portrait can take from him his irrepressible energy, his predominant honesty, his love, by and large, for what was fair and square, his cleansing influence on politics, his success as a "practical" statesman. Neither can any whitewasher's brush conceal the defects that accompanied those virtues,—his egotism, his occasional truculence, his "passion for immediate results," his tendency to let the end justify the means. Mr. Thayer had an opportunity to give his readers a fair picture of a splendid man. His use of it will add neither to Mr. Roosevelt's glory as a statesman nor to his own as a biographer.

JULIUS W. PRATT.

United States Naval Academy.

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THE DICKENS CIRCLE. By J. W. T. Ley. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1919. Profusely illustrated, with index,—424 pp.

If there is any justification at all for the numerous books on literary circles—and few will dispute their value to students—certainly such a book dealing with Dickens, the most authentic voice of Victorianism, merits serious attention.

Mr. Ley's book has seventy-seven chapters, each devoted to one or more friends of Dickens. Seventy-five different names appear in the titles of chapters, and there are several chapters devoted to whole groups of people. This mob of characters is well calculated to make the reader accept the publishers' claim that Mr. Ley gives adequate proof of Dickens' "amazing capacity" for friendship. The names span the



whole century in time and cover a very wide range of human interests. Poets, novelists, dramatists, actors, artists, critics, statesmen, lawyers, editors, lords, and business men—from such relicts of the preceding age as Jeffrey and Rogers, through the mid-century period of Thackeray, Carlyle, and Hood, to the younger men who lived almost to the end of the century—all are presented in their various relationships to Dickens. If we agree with the author (p. 4) that all these persons really constituted a circle, of which Dickens was the dominant figure, we should certainly have to leave Dr. Johnson to take care of himself while we admitted Mr. Ley's assertion that "no man ever had a bigger or more notable circle." But Mr. Ley himself, after claiming in the introductory chapter that his characters form a real circle, admits later that some of them are little more than speaking acquaintances. If Carlyle was really a member of the circle dominated by Dickens, we have in *Hard Times* a most notable example of the tail wagging the dog. It is even more surprising to find Washington Irving, Holmes, and Tennyson presented as belonging to a circle of which Dickens was the head. In view of the title of the book, the author's ambition for numbers is plainly a little indiscriminate. This does not alter the fact, however, that he has made a pretty close study of all the characters of any note with whom Dickens had dealings and has brought together in one volume an account of the novelist's relations with them. In some cases he has corrected and in others he has augmented the copious material presented in John Forster's standard biography of Dickens.

The interest of the general reader will be materially increased by the numerous illustrations, including sketches by Cruikshank, Leech, and Thackeray, and by many portraits seldom or never printed before. To Dickensians the accounts of amateur theatricals, celebration dinners, and the Dickens illustrators will be of value. The student of nineteenth-century literature will be interested in Dickens' friendship with Landor, Hunt, and Thackeray, the first resulting in Landor's appearance as Boythorn in *Bleak House*, the second in Leigh Hunt's embarrassing portrait as Harold Skimpole (also, as a matter of course, in financial advantage for Hunt), and the

third in a famous estrangement. In discussing the break between Dickens and Thackeray, Mr. Ley, though a Dickensian, shows himself no idolater, for he places the blame squarely, though gently, on Dickens, with whom it certainly belongs.

There are points in the book—and they are the points that throw the most interesting side-lights on the times—at which the reader might imagine himself back in a Dickens novel. All the weepiness of Dickens at his worst is suggested by the tears of Macready and Jeffrey (*quantum mutatus* from the tartarly *Quarterly* days!) over Little Nell, and the broken-hearted sobs of Macaulay over the first number of *Dombey*. The honest benevolence with which the novelist patronizes Tom Pinch, Joe Gargery, *et al.*, has its counterpart in Mr. Ley's picture of Dickens bestowing his blessing on Augustus Egg. "Augustus!" he would call across the table, apropos of nothing, and oblivious of other diners, "Augustus!" then, generously, "God bless you, Augustus."

It is hardly within the province of the reviewer to dwell long on matters of proof-reading and diction, yet it should be noted in passing that typographical errors occur rather too often (e. g., pp. 12, 16, 85, 365,) and that Mr. Ley's use of "a lot," "nice," and "enthused" is somewhat careless.

*The Dickens Circle* is no more a book to be read from cover to cover than is the *Dictionary of National Biography*, but, in spite of its dubious claims in regard to the "Circle" and its rather unattractive organization, it fully justifies its publishers' statement that it is a valuable addition to the literature dealing with Dickens.

NEWMAN I. WHITE.

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CURRENTS AND EDDIES IN THE ENGLISH ROMANTIC GENERATION. By Frederick E. Pierce, Ph.D. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1918—342 pp.

The history of romanticism is commonly looked upon as the history of the heredity and evolution of a family of general ideas. It is more or less the fashion to link together the developments of several allied abstractions,—the return to Nature, the revival of interest in the Middle Ages, renewal of the spirit of individualism,—and to call them the Romantic

Movement. We might as well group the Penobscot, the Hudson, the Delaware, the James, and the Mississippi under the general name of the Atlantic Movement. Because the associated romantic concepts do not unite to form one mighty river of thought but rather are separate tributaries progressing,—some of them merely meandering,—toward a distant ocean, the method which Professor Pierce has employed for his historical survey of the English romantic generation is indeed well chosen. He discusses in turn various groups of authors, groups which are differentiated by their geographical associations and by their characteristic literary interests, romantic or reactionary. Typical chapter headings are: "The Eddy Around Bristol; Rousseau and the French Revolution in Poetry, 1794-1799," "The Scotch Group and the Antiquarian Movement in Poetry, 1800-1805 and Thereafter," "The Eddy Around Leigh Hunt," "The Elizabethan Current and *The London Magazine*," "The Expatriated Poets and the Italian Movement in Poetry."

From another point of view also the method is admirable, for it places emphasis upon personality. Important as is the matter of abstract generalizations, the generalizations are significant only as they are vivified in the person of authors. Therefore it is especially fortunate that a scholar of Professor Pierce's clear intelligence has been able to combine neatly a history of the course of various romantic notions with a history of the interrelations of English romanticists. The result is a highly informative book presenting several new ideas and a few valuable facts not recorded in earlier essays in the field. What is more, it is a readable book, displaying its author's own personality in the occasional intrusion of a characteristically American metaphor, often a humorous metaphor, among the decorous lines of conventionally polished writing.

Knox College.

ROBERT CALVIN WHITFORD.

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BOOKS IN THE WAR: THE ROMANCE OF LIBRARY WAR SERVICE. By Theodore Wesley Koch. New York and Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1919—xix, 388 pp.

Mr. Koch, who is chief of the Order Department of the Library of Congress, was in close touch with the work of the

American Library Association, both in America and abroad, and knows from personal experience what reading meant to the men in the European war. He says that his book is not an official report of the American Library Association War Service, but a "human-interest story of what books and reading have meant to the individual soldier and sailor."

It is a "human-interest story" of a great work but, with an atmosphere of sincere feeling and real service through every line of the account, the author has given an accurate and authoritative report of historical value.

The first care of the War Service Committee of the American Library Association was to provide books for the large cantonments in the United States. Library buildings were erected in the camps during the fall and winter of 1917-18—shelving from ten to fifteen thousand volumes each. Interesting details are related of the assembling and handling of the books in the various libraries, including some humorous incidents of inspecting the "gift-horse."

The book campaigns provided material for immediate use and the money received from public subscription was used for the purchase of books of a more serious nature, as the gifts were in the main of the lighter books. Text-books were supplied in great quantities and expensive up-to-date reference books were provided generously.

Naturally there was a great demand for magazines and newspapers from the camps and hospitals in America and overseas. In addition to the magazines sent free, a list of popular and technical magazines were ordered for each camp library and the huts of all organizations giving library service. The metropolitan daily newspapers and selected papers from different sections of the country were supplied to all camps.

Under the title, "Students in Khaki," a chapter is devoted to the co-operation of the A.L.A. with the educational work of the Y.M.C.A. by supplying the books required. Mr. Samuel H. Ranck wrote from Camp Custer in May, 1918: "I was on duty all day Sunday, for a stretch of about fourteen hours, and the caliber of the work on that day was worthy of any university library in this country."

When the American Expeditionary Forces went across, the A.L.A. took up the systematic work, January, 1918, of sending them books, magazines and newspapers from home,—of placing something good to read on ships, in camps, in hospitals, in lookout stations, in trenches and every place in which units of the army and navy were stationed. Books were sent not only to France but also to American troops in England, Italy, Archangel, Vladivostock and American prisoners in Germany. Mr. Koch gives the details of this tremendous undertaking in a way that must surely interest the general reader and certainly does prove fascinating to a librarian.

Permanent headquarters were established in Paris in April, 1918, with the administrative offices of the overseas service in charge of Mr. Burton E. Stevenson.

Through the franking privileges in the Army Post Office, the A.L.A. offered direct mail service to members of the A.E.F. Often as many as 1200 letters asking for special books were received in one day. The records show that "during the month of January, 1919, more than twenty-five hundred individuals were served by this department and the total number of volumes mailed was 33,603."

The library service in the hospitals is described in many conversations with the patients. Their expressions of appreciation are frequently closed with the words, "I should have lost my mind if I could not have had something to read."

In the chapter, "Reading in Prison Camps," Mr. Koch tells of one of the most important services of library workers. There is abundant proof that thousands of prisoners of war were saved from serious mental collapse by having access to reading material. In addition to fiction, magazines, and newspapers, books were furnished on subjects in which the prisoners were specially interested.

The idea of sending pictures and poetry to men in the horror and din of fighting may seem far-fetched but Mr. Koch, with his examples of actual occurrences, shows us how poetry and good pictures helped the men to remember that there is beauty in the world.

"Books for Blinded Soldiers" deserves a part of the work which received much thought and care. The soldiers were

taught to read and write in Braille and books were supplied them for recreational reading and instruction in various occupations.

In addition to the part of the American Library Association in the war, a full account is given of the work done by the library organizations in Great Britain.

The book is attractive in appearance and is illustrated with more than one hundred excellent photographs which are in themselves a most interesting story of "books in the war."

EVA E. MALONE.

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LIGHT, A NOVEL. By Henri Barbusse, translated by Fitzwater Wray. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company. First Edition, 1919—309 pp.

To anyone whose appetite for war books has not been satisfied this work may be recommended as one of the first rank. It will stand comparison with the "Four Horsemen," which it resembles in some particulars of method, perhaps due to a common ancestry in Emile Zola. Indeed it is superior to Blasco Ibáñez' popular work in unity and in vision. There are passages which suggest Wells' "Joan and Peter," but this is undoubtedly a coincidence due to a similarity of viewpoint and an identity of scenes described. The descriptions are etched by a master hand. Metaphor follows metaphor in almost excessive profusion. The reader almost feels as if they are being sprayed upon him by a machine gun. The realism of the novel is at times relieved by passages of fine lyric quality.

The story relates very naturally the daily routine of a most typical young man in a small French manufacturing town. Simon Paulin is a clerk in the office of a large factory. He has been brought up by an old aunt, who keeps house for him. He has the usual white-collared respect for employer, church and noble, and for "things as they are." We accompany him as he returns from work and meet various town characters—the old general repair man, the tavern keeper, the drunken Socialist blacksmith, and others. Paulin's aunt dies, he falls in love with his cousin Marie, courts and marries her. He takes a patronizing interest in the laboring man and rejoices when a demonstration is broken up by the employers'

simple expedient of plying the labor leaders with champagne until they are too drunk to know what they are about.

Then comes mobilization, with the general breaking up of the national life and the reaction to it of the various members of our group. Paulin finds himself in uniform, marching and countermarching, and digging trenches and carrying huge packs for countless miles. Finally a German attack throws back the line of defence and during the counter-attack, while in the act of grappling with a German, he is seriously wounded. He lies unattended for three days and during that time in his delirium he sees things in a new light—as they are, as they may be, as they should be. He evolves a philosophy strongly contrasted with his old attitude. He goes over the causes of war and the chances of wars ceasing. He defines religion and patriotism. He looks for a brighter day of internationalism, when love of country will be supplemented by love of humanity.

He is finally discharged from the hospital and his wife takes him home. He sees the changes wrought by the war—the newly rich, the widows, the church damaged by a bomb. He attends a memorial service and is disgusted with the chauvinistic sentiments expressed. Have the dead died in vain? And has he fought for this? Why, when we have destroyed the old, bad order, build it up again? Why cannot all the nations get together and build a new and more lasting structure—a system built on men, not on things? We leave him at home with his wife, trying to adjust himself to the world and his new viewpoint.

FRED A. G. COWPER.

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IRELAND AND ENGLAND. By Edward Raymond Turner. New York: The Century Company, 1919,—504 pp.

THE NEW MAP OF ASIA. By Herbert Adams Gibbons. New York: The Century Company, 1919,—xiv, 571 pp.

At first thought it would seem unnatural to notice these two books in the same review, but the tasks of the authors have many points of similarity and the results of their performance are easily the subjects of contrast. Both authors have undertaken to supply a real need by reviewing the his-

torical background and stating the points at issue in contentious questions now much in the public mind with an attempt to make them clear to popular readers of average information. Neither had an easy task, and it would be unreasonable to expect either to have succeeded to the entire satisfaction of any reviewer. As a matter of fact, Professor Turner seems to have brought to his task as nearly the correct attitude of mind for its performance and to have applied himself to his undertaking as conscientiously as one could expect. Not so Mr. Gibbons. He begins by creating two imaginary foes to combat, which he calls "European eminent domain" and "imperialism," and then spends his volume in an effort to slay these demons. The result is that one can recommend Professor Turner's book to an inquiring citizen anxious to inform himself about the Irish question, but nobody wishing to inspire a sane state of mind about Asia would commend Mr. Gibbons' book in the same way.

Professor Turner organizes his material in three nearly equal parts. The first is a review of Irish history from the earliest time through the famine, and nowhere else in so short a compass is there a better statement of the essential information for one who would understand the Irish question. There may be grounds of accusing the author of giving too little attention to difficult subjects like the passage of the Act of Union and the failure of the attempt at compromise in the early years of the French war, but on the whole the work is well done. The second part was not so easy and will satisfy fewer informed readers. The first chapter in this part, "The Beginning of a New Spirit," contributes little to the treatise and might have been omitted without much loss. But the remaining chapters on the reforms of the nineteenth century and the agitation for Home Rule in the twentieth are perhaps as impartial and as accurate as could be hoped, despite the many disputatious points that could be raised. The third part on "Irish Nationality and the War," which includes also some of the author's opinions and conclusions, certainly merits inclusion in the book, though, in the nature of things, few will commend it as highly as the rest of the work. There is a useful critical bibliography at the end of the volume.



Professor Turner writes as one who feels with Ireland but who, because of his study of English history, can also see the justice of much of the English point of view to which the sympathizers with Ireland are too often blind. In fact, in an effort to combat what he assumes, no doubt with some justification, is a general American prejudice, Professor Turner probably leans a little more than he realized toward the English side of the discussion. On the whole, though, in spite of an assumption of their ignorance that will almost be resented by some of the readers for which the book was intended, and of some generalizations which will make it difficult for many of the initiated to repress smiles, the author has rendered a difficult and needed service.

No doubt we shall have many more polemic books about Asia; perhaps we need them. We are but on the threshold of what must likely be a long period of discussion of questions pertaining to that continent. Had Mr. Gibbons offered his book frankly as a contribution to that type of literature, no objection to it could be offered. Those sufficiently informed about the subject to have opinions about it one way or another might find a stimulus to further reflection in the pronounced views which Mr. Gibbons states so positively and dogmatically. He has a large fund of information, and, in that respect, few persons are better equipped to write the manual so much needed. The trouble is, he lacks almost entirely the impartial, judicial attitude that ought to characterize a book of this sort.

Many readers will feel much sympathy with the emotional attitude of Mr. Gibbons, and his indignation is by no means wholly unrighteous. But if the dominant powers of Europe are as entirely bad as he leaves the impression they are and the United States has decided to acquiesce in their villainy, what boots it? It is no doubt a bad world, but why all the tears about Asia? The needier fields for study and missionary endeavor would seem rather to be Europe and America.

Scarcely a chapter in the book, in addition to, perhaps because of, this general partizan character, but contains points which may well be questioned. Take the subject of the Ottoman Empire, about which the author writes with the advantage of much first-hand information. He devotes an entire

chapter to "Palestine and the Zionists" in which his revolving emotions develop several tangents. In the first place, should the settlement of Jews as now planned in Palestine prove successful, it would be under British auspices and so would extend the dominion of that arch fiend of the shadowy "European eminent domain" with which Mr. Gibbons is obsessed. But, were that not true, it would be altogether wrong to permit the establishment of a Jewish theocratic state in the old land of the Hebrews. For one thing, a theocracy is contrary to the spirit of political institutions as they have developed in the twentieth century. Besides, the Jews would not be likely to treat well the native population who do not wish to be molested. True, Mr. Gibbons thinks these natives ought to be made into democrats of some sort, willy nilly, but that is another question.

The chapters on China and Japan have the same intolerant character, though there is a sympathetic treatment of the rise of Japan that would deserve wider circulation were it not interwoven with so much that is questionable. Even here, one cannot wholly agree with the author. He says, for example (p. 477): "There never would have been any Japanese imperialism had European powers not been conscienceless hogs." There is no need to comment on a characteristic sentence of this sort. It makes clearer than any criticism the defects which make Mr. Gibbons' book as unsatisfactory for the purposes for which it was intended as Professor Turner's is welcome and useful.

WILLIAM THOMAS LAPRADE.

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BELGIUM: A PERSONAL NARRATIVE. By Brand Whitlock, United States Minister to Belgium. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1919, 2 vols.—xi, 661, 818 pp.

For a number of reasons Mr. Whitlock's *Belgium* enjoys a distinction among the many personal narratives relating to the World War. The author was a lover of the country long before he became official representative of the United States. The natural scenery, the monuments of art in its cities, the traditions and customs of the people appealed to his sense of

beauty and his love of things antiquarian. It is not surprising therefore that his sympathy for the Belgian nation in its years of suffering is profound. The soul of the people, refined and strengthened by adversity, stands revealed in his pages. For the interpretation of character and description of events Mr. Whitlock has the rare literary power of suggestion,—personages seem to stand before the reader's eye, small happenings have a significance not specifically told in words, and great scenes are portrayed with a few bold sentences. It is the case of the artist revealing the mind, the soul of the subject, through media wholly material. The text is also fortified with numerous documents which reinforce the story or fortify the views of the author. Altogether a more authoritative or more damning commentary on German militarism has not been presented; for sheer power of conviction it will live as long as the war is a recorded fact of history.

The treatment of three matters deserves especial notice. First is the organization of relief for the civilian population. It was at the American legation that the food problem was discussed and plans laid for a local relief organization, the *Brussels Comité Central de Secours et d'Alimentation*. This in turn gave birth to a national organization, the *Comité National*, with sub-committees in every province. The moving spirit was M. Emile Franqui, who stood in relation to the administration of relief work in Belgium that Herbert Hoover did to the world organization, the Commission for the Relief of Belgium. The functioning of the national and the world organizations was perfected at meetings of their representatives at the American Legation. The scenes at relief kitchens are described briefly but with a world of pathos. The scope of the work is indicated by the following incident:

"When our problems seemed for the moment all to have been solved, I broached another question that had long been on my heart; it concerned the great, patient draft-dogs, those that the Germans had not requisitioned. They turned their pathetic eyes on me from under their carts, in what I could imagine as a dumb appeal:

*'Ce qu'il y a de meilleur en l'homme c'est le chien.'*

"I had a suspicion that those dogs had not enough to eat: I could share my own rations with my own dog, but what of those dogs of the street that worked so hard, leading a dog's life indeed, with no trade union, no *syndicat*, nothing to represent them, but trusting wholly to the capricious generosity of man?

"'Oh,' said Mr. Hoover to my joy, 'I've already thought of that. We are organizing a department to issue biscuits to chiens de service, but chiens de luxe must depend on the crumbs that fall from their masters' tables.'" (Vol. II, p. 233)

In strong contrast to the humanity thus portrayed is the brutality and duplicity in the trial and execution of Edith Cavell. Interesting is the opinion of Mr. Whitlock concerning the reason for the execution. "The armies of Great Britain were just then making an offensive and it was partly in petty spite for this, partly an expression of the violent hatred the Germans bore everything English . . . that they did what they did." In all the annals of militarism no incident was beset with greater duplicity or inhumanity or was less calculated to win moral support for a cause. And no such incident has had a better annalist than Mr. Whitlock.

The third subject of paramount interest is the German policy of forcing the Belgians to work for the enemy of their country. This "Monstrous Thing" is described with minute detail and numerous documents are cited in evidence. Yet the Belgian spirit was unbroken and unconquered. The more severe the persecution, the more refined and more irresistible became the temper of Belgian patriotism; the naked souls of men remained undestroyed, though their bodies were forced to yield obedience. The reader can not help but raise the questions: Will such a policy ever be repeated? Has militarism learned a lesson? Will moral, humanitarian considerations be preserved in future wars or will civilization finally collapse?

Certain personalities stand in bold relief. There were Hermancito Bulle, the kindly, helpful Mexican who died under the strain of his duties as a neutral, and Villalobar, the Spanish Ambassador, man of the world, well poised, efficient, cynical, helpful. How much might the memoirs of the latter add to the list of war literature! Minor characters now and

then loom clear; such was the German officer who drew his hand across his face wearily and said, "This thing of standing old peasants up against the wall—well, it's no business for a gentleman." Such personages and such incidents give to the reader a constant sense of expectancy and leave an impression more lasting than thousands of documents.

W. K. B.

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MARE NOSTRUM, A NOVEL. By Vicente Blasco Ibáñez; translated from the Spanish by Charlotte Brewster Jordan. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1919.

Mare Nostrum (Our Sea) forms a companion novel to "The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse." As the latter showed the Allies and Germany struggling on land, this work shows the submarine warfare and the German spy system in words that no one but Blasco Ibáñez could write.

It begins with the story of a seafaring family of Valencia, then relates the history of Mediterranean towns and heroes, the natural history of the ocean bottom, describes Italy on the point of entering the war, the meeting of a German siren with a full-blooded sailor and the train of circumstances following therefrom. Captain Ferragut has agreed to carry a cargo of oil to some German submarines. Not able to use his own vessel because of objections on the part of his mate, he sends it home to Barcelona and carries the cargo on a strange vessel. But he pays heavily for his assistance to the submarines. Esteban, his only son, when he sees his father's boat return without its captain, thinks that Ferragut is deserting his family and goes to Naples to look for him. Being told that his father has started for home, he sets sail for Barcelona and becomes one of the first victims of the submarine. On learning of his son's death, Captain Ferragut becomes conscious of the inhumanity of submarine warfare and dedicates himself to the single idea of revenge. His boat carries supplies for the Allies at the Dardanelles and at Salonika. He brings about the death of two of his old acquaintances, important members of the German secret service. He rather brutally repels the siren on several occasions when she pleads to be rescued from

the spy system. Both Freya and Ferragut meet tragic ends in the performance of duty.

The book is, of course, full of striking descriptive passages in the characteristic Ibáñez manner. The central picture, corresponding to the Battle of the Marne in the "Four Horsemen," describes the Naples Aquarium and its inhabitants. Captain Ferragut, waiting there in the hope of meeting Freya, the siren, whiles away the time before the numerous tanks. At last he stands before the cuttlefish and there Freya appears. The repulsive creatures excite in her the most brutal sensuality, she throws her arms about Ferragut and kisses him in a manner similar to that in which the cuttlefish seizes the living food thrown to him by his keeper. From that moment the captain is in the woman's toils. She is the type that appears in so many of Ibáñez' novels, the Dona Sol type, but here the character is very highly developed. The author has treated her in such a way that while we loathe her much of the time, we feel that she is the victim of circumstances and her end inspires in us sympathy and pity.

The colorful descriptions, interesting plot, and unusual characters make this work rank among Blasco Ibáñez' best novels. It has points of resemblance with Hugo's "Toilers of the Sea." The Aquarium scene and the final chapter suggest the battle with the octopus and the fate of Hugo's hero.

FREDERICK A. G. COWPER.

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# KANE DECLARES HE IS POWERLESS TO CHECK GOUGERS

Handicapped by Cooke's Refusal to Reorganize War-Time Fair-Price Board, He Says

## ATTORNEY'S DUTY TO STOP PROFITEERING, SAYS HEINZ

Prosecutor Has No Time to Answer Questions Concerning Action in Other Cities

With the boomers of this city clamoring for direct, vigorous action against the food gougers, whom they hold responsible for the undernourishment of their children, Francis Patrick Kane, United States district attorney, declared yesterday he was powerless to check profiteering.

Mr. Kane emphasized he was totally handicapped by the refusal of Jay Cooke, formerly food administrator for Philadelphia, to reorganize the war-time fair-price board.

# Great Quantities of Food Seized by Federal Agents in Baltimore

WASHINGTON (AP) — The real pinch behind the government's food drive is the high cost of living, which is being given today in Washington.

While Attorney General Palmer was telling the committee that he intended to prosecute every food dealer who sold at higher prices than those listed by the war price board, he said that the food control act in Chicago 1232 cases of hoarding.

## FOOD-PRICE URGES

War-time food control act in Chicago 1232 cases of hoarding.

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# REGULATORY FOOD BOARD IS NEEDED

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